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ABSTRACT

This manual is designed to assist naturalization courts, bar associations, civic and educational leaders, patriotic organizations, and individuals in adding to the dignity of the ceremonies surrounding the admission to citizenship and in emphasizing the significance and importance of citizenship. The three parts of the manual are: Part I. The Naturalization Ceremony: Chapter 1. Background, Chapter 2. Significance of the ceremony, Chapter 3. The court ceremony, and Chapter 4. Community participation; Part II. National Citizenship Recognition: Chapter 1. Origin, and Chapter 2. The Program; and Part III. Source Material: Chapter 1. Statements by Presidents of the United States, Chapter 2. Statements by Chief Justices of the United States, Chapter 3. Statements by Naturalized Citizens, Chapter 4. Statements on Americanism and Freedom, Chapter 5. Addresses to New Citizens, and Chapter 6. Suggestions for Programs. (DB)

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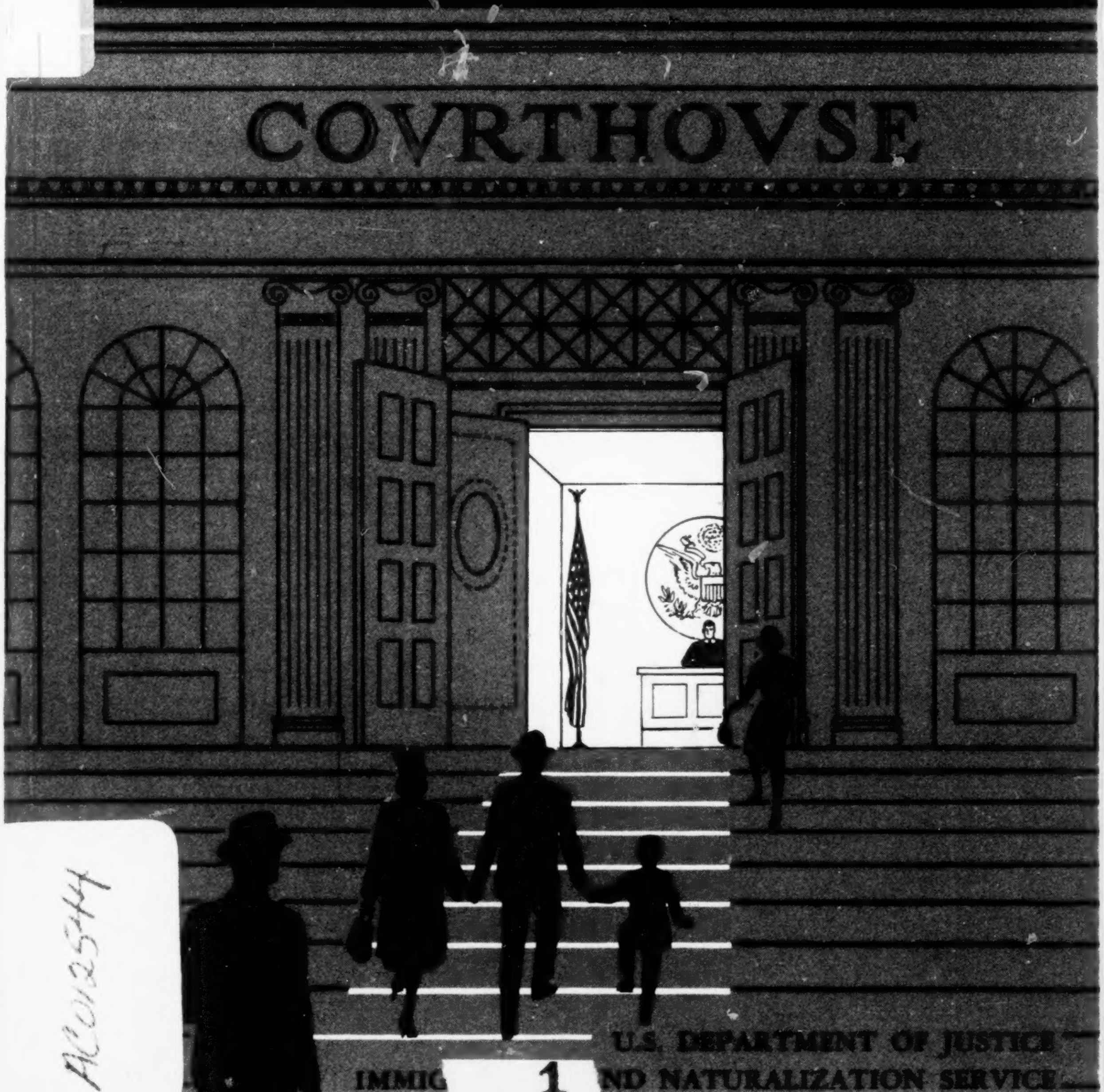

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Gateway to CITIZENSHIP

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
M-74

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PREFACE

Gateway to Citizenship is a manual designed to assist naturalization courts, bar associations, civic and educational leaders, patriotic organizations, and individuals in adding to the dignity of the ceremonies surrounding the admission to citizenship and in emphasizing the significance and importance of citizenship. The manual is an official publication of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It was initiated, however, by the National Citizenship Education Program and was originally prepared by Carl B. Hyatt, formerly an Assistant Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with the cooperation of various committees, including the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship and the committees on American Citizenship of both the American Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association. It is in no sense a collection of directives. Rather it is a series of suggestions, ideas, and materials gathered from a survey of practices all over the country.

It is sincerely hoped that this manual will continue to be of use to the courts engaged in naturalization work and to all individuals and organizations in planning programs for patriotic occasions.

Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

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PART I

The Naturalization Ceremony

Chapter 1

Background

OUT OF THE ETERNAL LONGING and quest for freedom, the story of this country has been written. Millions from many faraway lands crossed strange oceans and came here to realize their dream of liberty. The dreams and visions that they realized in turn became a part of America.

The foreign-born of yesterday and the foreign-born of today present no new story. Both wrote chapters in the saga of America. Like the Pilgrim Fathers of old, many of the present-day immigrants fled their native lands to escape bitterness, intolerance, and oppression. Some brought to this country little except courage and hope. Others brought something more: precious skills and talents in science, music, art, and in other fields. Each of these made his contribution, building, renewing, and enriching this great Nation and making it the inspiration of liberty-loving and oppressed peoples everywhere.

The immigrants of today follow the same road to citizenship that was taken by our forefathers. Long ago Congress established the judicial way as the road from foreign allegiance to United States citizenship. Through the portals of the courtroom pass the immigrants to receive this citizenship. Since 1790, when the first naturalization law was passed by Congress, naturalization has been a judicial procedure. Attention, therefore, focuses on the induction ceremony—the climax of the naturalization process—which clothes a foreigner "with the privileges of a native citizen."

Although the Constitution provided that Congress shall have the power "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization," until 1906 aliens were admitted to citizenship largely in accordance with the wisdom and method of the individual judge. Both Federal and State courts were charged with responsibility for naturalizing new citizens, but they were far from being uniform in their rulings and practices. For example, there was no uniform rule as to the number of witnesses required for each petitioner. Nor was there uniformity in record keeping. Even the type of naturalization document that the court issued depended somewhat upon the printer from whom the clerk of the court got his supplies.

Toward the end of the last century and in the early years of the present, aliens in great numbers were exploited for political and industrial purposes. Fraud was prevalent in many jurisdictions. Just preceding election, in many instances, aliens were "rounded up" and taken to the office of the clerk of the court or before a "political" judge. Thereupon, naturalization papers were made out. Many of the new citizens were "run through the hopper" for purely selfish considerations, either political or industrial. Nothing was said or done during the inducting process that stressed the value of citizenship, or its obligations. The Nation's greatest gift was bestowed with little or no dignity and with no recognition of what citizenship really meant. These shameful practices finally led to an investigation that resulted in the enactment of a basic naturalization law by Congress in 1906. Of special significance in this law was the provision that enabled the Federal Government to set up an executive bureau (The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, in the Department of Commerce and Labor, which has by merger and transfer now become the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Department of Justice) to administer and supervise the processes of naturalization.

Improvement in the entire naturalization process immediately followed. The vicious practice of "rushing" naturalization cases for political purposes was practically ended by the provision forbidding the naturalizing of any person or the issuance of any certificate of naturalization during the 30 days preceding a general election within the area of the court's jurisdiction. Having administrative control, the Immigration and Naturalization Service worked toward uniform standards for examinations and toward uniformity in forms and record keeping. The removal of selfish outside pressure and the improvement in procedures opened the way for a new spirit to permeate the process of naturalization.

Although the Act of 1906 established no educational standard for the petitioner, except that he be able to sign his name, speak the English language, and satisfy the court that he was "attached" to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, the courts almost uniformly held that the applicant for citizenship could not be "attached" to the principles of the Constitution if he did not know what the Constitution contained. Many of the courts also held that the applicant not only should understand the Constitution, but that he should have a knowledge of the Declaration of Independence, vitally related to it, and of the early history of the United States. This resulted in the development of a system of examining applicants for citizenship to determine their attitude toward our Government and their knowledge of the Constitution and history of our country.

On September 23, 1950, Congress legislatively affirmed these court rulings and made such knowledge a specific requisite for citizenship. In addition, applicants were required to demonstrate an ability to read and write, as well as speak words in ordinary usage in the English language, exceptions being made in the cases of persons then over 50 years of age who had resided in the United States for more than 20 years. These provisions were substantially reenacted in the Immigration and Nationality Act which became effective December 24, 1952.

All the examinations of prospective citizens are now made by the examiners of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. At the present time a high percentage of those recommended by the examiners are accepted without question by the courts. The appearance of witnesses for the petitioner at the final hearing is not now generally required either in the Federal or State courts. This elimination of witnesses from appearance in the courtroom, together with the court's acceptance of the report of the examiner without further examination of the petitioner, gives the court more time for making naturalization an impressive occasion.

Judges are now generally in agreement that applicants should have a complete understanding of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of citizenship before taking the oath of allegiance. This development marks the first definite step away from the routine court induction of the past toward a better and more inspirational process for the future.

Present naturalization procedure is, in some instances, still not in keeping with the significance and importance of the occasion. Partial responsibility for this failure lies in the fact that approximately 600 courts exercise responsibility for naturalizing new citizens. Although each court determines the same qualifications for citizenship and administers the same oath by which the applicant forswears his previous allegiance and pledges his loyalty to the United States, courts frequently differ in practices and conditions under which they operate. In some instances, also, the court is highly local in nature and reflects the strengths or weaknesses of its particular locality or leadership.

Furthermore, many courts are handicapped by large naturalization classes, small courtrooms, and heavy calendars. To some, these conditions have been so discouraging that no attempt has been made to make the naturalization proceedings inspirational. Some applicants for citizenship, ushered into a crowded courtroom by court attendants in much the same manner as persons appearing before the court on criminal charges and inducted into citizenship between hearings in criminal cases, unfortunately, have felt as though they were criminals rather than potential citizens. The results have been bewilderment, disillusionment, and even relief when the trying experience is over, rather than inspiration.

In sharp contrast, other courts with classes just as large, courtrooms just as crowded, and calendars just as heavy have been challenged rather than dismayed by these conditions, and have given an emotional uplift to the awarding of the cloak of American citizenship. By their courtroom ceremonials, these courts have endeavored to interpret the meaning and the full significance of the life being entered through naturalization. They have pointed out that our Government belongs to the people and that the people should share its responsibilities. They have stressed other obligations and responsibilities of the new citizen. They have expanded the process of oath-taking into an impressive ceremony that honors and dignifies American citizenship. In these efforts the courts have had support and assistance. Patriotic, educational, civic, and fraternal organizations, as well as individuals, have become interested and have contributed their services to make naturalization proceedings dignified and effective.

In addition to these efforts, the Congress in 1940 recognized the importance of dignifying the acquisition of citizenship by adding to a joint resolution, setting aside one day each year as "I Am An American Day," a requirement that the judge of a naturalization court or someone designated by him should address newly naturalized citizens upon the form and genius of our Government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. This section added to the joint resolution was for the intent and purpose of enlisting the aid of the judiciary, in cooperation with civil, educational authorities and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship. The joint resolution providing for such participation was repealed and superseded on February 29, 1952, when the Congress approved a joint resolution designating September 17 of each year as "Citizenship Day." However, the direction to the judges of naturalization courts to address newly naturalized citizens was included in the 1952 resolution and still remains in effect.

Chapter 2

Significance of the Ceremony

DOWN THROUGH THE AGES the bestowal of privileges and the acceptance of responsibilities have been occasions for solemn ceremonies. Among the American Indians the young men who had proved their skills and abilities were, in a ceremony of great dignity, admitted to the "status of the brave" with the privilege of sharing in the responsibilities of the council of the tribe. Churches, and fraternal, social, and other organizations initiate their new members with a ceremony which is intended to convey an understanding of the meaning and significance of the pledges that are given and the vows that are taken. High school and university authorities maintain the ceremonial of commencement. They are conscious of the emotional tides that influence most people, and they recognize that the commencement ceremonial creates a state of elation that holds great possibilities. The acquisition of citizenship is also a commencement. It is the beginning of a journey that vitally affects the life of the new citizen.

Therefore, it is logical to have an impressive ceremony for induction into the finest fraternity known to man—that of United States citizenship. The time when the alien completes his course in citizenship and stands before other American citizens, qualified and willing to become one of them and ready to shoulder his responsibility in the conduct of government, should be made impressive as a reminder to him of the sanctity of the obligation that he is assuming.

The courtroom ceremonial becomes the climax or the peak of the process of naturalization. Years of preparation spent in acquiring the qualifications of citizenship lie behind the ceremonial. In traveling this long road the prospective citizen should acquire something more than the routine answers to certain questions regarding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, or the history of the United States. Such answers may enable the petitioner to "pass" the examination and get his certificate of naturalization, but he can play the role of a good citizen of the United States only if during those years he has learned, and experienced, something of the spirit of this country. From the date of his entry into the United States to the time when the court bestows upon him citizenship, the most precious gift that this country has to offer, a continuing responsibility rests upon those who guide him along the path to citizenship to instill in him, by word and by example, the spirit of this land.

The courtroom ceremonial can and should be a gripping scene featuring the alien's entrance into the fraternity of citizenship. The last act of his life as an alien and the first act of his life as a citizen of the United States should be performed in such a manner as to stamp them in his memory as among the most stirring and unforgettable experiences of his life. Recognition should be given to the fact that impressions received at this time carry great and continuing possibilities for good or ill, as the time of the final court hearing offers an occasion when the alien is emotionally receptive and especially susceptible to serious and solemn reflections concerning the responsibilities of citizenship.

United States citizenship is a glorious possession representing the dreams and the struggles of men for centuries. Our charter of human liberty—the Bill of Rights—was obtained at a high price. Voice in our Government, freedom in our worship, freedom in our business—all the freedoms of human aspiration—did not come into being by accident. They were achieved only after generations of struggle, suffering, and sacrifice. Victims of terror, torture, and oppression made their contributions in the distant past. Men from dark dungeons, martyrs swinging from gallows, human torches lit by the flames of intolerance, victims of the Inquisition, patriots who suffered and died at Valley Forge and on other battlefields of freedom, and many others who made the supreme sacrifice while seeking human rights, have all played their part in the framing of our Charter of Liberty.

The courtroom ceremonial can stimulate in the new citizen a genuine enthusiasm for the democratic processes and his opportunities in this country. We, of the United States, are constantly striving to expand liberty and freedom, while many of the new citizens come from countries run by dictators who are striving to expand their empires and destroy liberty and freedom. The significance of such a change in citizenship should not go unrecognized at such time.

Although the ceremony cannot take the place of the continuing daily practice of democracy and Americanism, a proper ceremonial observance of this important step in the life of the individual will greatly assist in guidance toward appreciation of the duties and privileges of citizenship that lie ahead.

Through the naturalization ceremony the spirit of liberty and freedom can be born in the minds and hearts of new citizens and renewed in the hearts and minds of the native-born. When the naturalization court, civil and educational authorities, patriotic organizations, and individuals cooperate in an impressive naturalization ceremony, the new citizen not only feels honored with his citizenship but is impressed with the fact that he has become an integral part of the community in which he, too, has responsibility. In turn, those who are already citizens can be made better citizens by welcoming, and witnessing the appreciation of, the foreign-born who are becoming Americans by choice rather than by accident of birth. When the new and native-born citizens come together for a common ideal—one pledging his allegiance, the other renewing his loyalty—both add to the unity which has been, and is, the strength of this Nation.

Chapter 3

The Court Ceremony

NO RIGID PROGRAM can be laid down for any court. Each court, recognizing the significance of induction into citizenship, must face its own problems and chart its own procedures. The steps taken by each to comply with the purpose of the joint resolution of Congress will necessarily be different. Evidently the Congress recognized the varying situations of the courts, as the language of the joint resolution is sufficiently broad and elastic to meet the desires of any court at any time. No single induction ceremony, even within the same court, need be exactly like any other, so long as each conforms to the minimum essentials.

The essentials for compliance with the spirit of the joint resolution would seem to be: (1) the rendering of the decree of naturalization; (2) the administering of the oath; (3) the delivery of an address by the judge or someone designated by him; and (4) some participation by "civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations." The discussion that follows will not concern itself with the minimum essentials alone but will deal with practices and procedures in naturalization courts that extend beyond the scope of such essentials. The purpose of so doing is to be of assistance to any court that may desire to expand its ceremony beyond the minimum requirements in order to meet its own special needs.

As previously indicated, the naturalization courts of the United States present differences in viewpoint and practice because of local conditions and leadership. For example, courts that have heavy calendars and crowded courtrooms afford less opportunity for elaborate ceremonies than do those that have time and space available where naturalization proceedings can be more leisurely. Also, situations may arise in which individuals, for example men in the military service, must be admitted singly and at irregular intervals rather than in classes. In the latter instance, the intimate and sympathetic attitude of the judge and his court officials must take the place of a more formal ceremony.

Although freedom is desirable in selecting the procedures applicable to the needs of the particular community or the particular occasion of induction, it is believed that, within the framework of the joint resolution, some general procedures can be developed that will insure an orderly flow of events, and thus save time and detailed planning on the part of court officials. This will not interfere with local differences, or the expression of initiative, imagination, and resourcefulness. If anything, all the essential differences, which contribute variety to the proceedings, will be made more effective by the establishment of a more or less uniform order of events.

The ceremony should be stripped clean of everything that fails to reflect basic ideas concerning citizenship. If the ceremonial portrays and makes impressive these ideas, then it cannot be challenged as a show or a dramatic spectacle. Those in charge must direct each and every procedure toward the end of emphasizing the worth of citizenship; otherwise the ceremony can become subject to criticism.

TIME AND PLACE

The selection of the time and place for holding naturalization proceedings, of course, depends upon the type of ceremony planned and the local situation. Judges generally favor the practice of having naturalization hearings in the courtroom, in the daytime, and during the regular court week. If time and space are adequate, the courtroom is the proper place and the daytime of the regular court week the proper time for holding such ceremonies.

However, the time or place is not so important as the induction itself. If naturalization proceedings have to be wedged in among arraignments, motions, and unrelated activities; if petitioners must be crowded into courtrooms and lined along the walls, or kept waiting in huddles outside the courtroom; if they must be hurried through proceedings by tired or harassed judges, then, in order to carry out the purpose of the joint resolution, it is preferable to hold court for the granting of citizenship away from the courtroom and at a time when the event can be made one of significance. In view of the fact that every final hearing must, by law, be had "in open court," the place where the hearing is to be held should be duly designated by the court as the "courtroom."

When the ceremony is held in some place other than the courtroom, judicial procedures should be carefully followed. This is not impossible, as they can be followed and made impressive in a place far removed from the courtroom. The truth of this is evidenced by Presidential inaugurations in the Nation's Capital.

In recent years many college and university presidents have faced problems similar to those encountered by some judges. As graduation classes have grown larger, with an accompanying increase of relatives and friends, the school officials have been compelled to abandon the old college chapels in which commencement exercises were held and to use larger auditoriums, or even stadiums erected primarily for athletic purposes.

Some judges, even before the passage of the joint resolution, began to deal with the problem of time and space by setting aside a day for naturalization during which no other business was transacted. Several judges devote one or more Saturdays each month to naturalization work. By setting aside a day that is outside of the general trial week, they can easily keep it clear for naturalization purposes. Others have held, and recommend, evening sessions. The judges who have held both day and evening sessions of court are in a position to contrast the hurried, perfunctory, daytime proceedings with more leisurely evening sessions. In speaking of some of the daytime sessions over which he has presided, the Honorable F. Dickinson Letts, Senior Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, has said: "* * * The proceedings have been too perfunctory and have been lacking in essential dignity. It is not uncommon to see the applicants for citizenship appear in court for induction in their work clothes and frequently in their shirt sleeves. It is possible that in such situations the applicant is relieved from his employment for the brief period necessary to attend the court session." In speaking of evening sessions over which he has also presided, he expressed himself differently: "* * * All the applicants and friends came dressed in their best apparel. * * * Before the convening and after adjournment there was a clustering about the courtroom engendering a spirit of fellowship. Some years ago as a Judge of the Seventh Judicial District in Iowa, I conducted evening sessions of court.

May I suggest that evening sessions of court for the induction of new citizens be tried?"

Both the Saturday and evening sessions, the latter particularly, not only bring some relief from the pressure on the court, but eliminate the criminal court atmosphere and other related phases of court work that have no bearing on naturalization proceedings. Also, the evening sessions offer a greater opportunity for friends, relatives, bar associations, civil and educational authorities, and patriotic organizations to be present, either for personal reasons or for the purpose of cooperating with the judge in carrying out the spirit of the joint resolution.

PRELIMINARY PROCEDURES

Several judges, in order to conserve the time of the court, have eliminated from the final hearing many tedious and time consuming details. These have been disposed of in various ways: through the naturalization examiner, the clerk's office, or through hearings held in a second courtroom just prior to the main ceremony. Special or contested cases are heard earlier so that those applicants who are eligible may join the class to be presented in the main courtroom. Such cases may also be heard on days specially set aside for that purpose. This procedure makes for a better service, as it prevents the injection of controversial matters into the ceremony with consequent delay and harm to the appropriate emotional atmosphere. In fact, all activities not absolutely essential should be completed beforehand, so that nothing will interfere with the smooth functioning of the court at the time of the final naturalization hearing. Photographs and signatures are placed on certificates in advance and delay is avoided by staggering the times set for the appearance of the applicants.

OPENING OF COURT

Unless ceremonial arrangements provide otherwise, the prospective citizens should be properly ushered before the opening of court to an appropriate place set aside for them, usually within the bar, where they can see and hear and reflect upon the events that take place. Court is then convened in full ceremony. Patient, painstaking, and tactful cooperation between the employees of the court and others, particularly members of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, can do much toward insuring not only a good opening of court but a smooth running and dignified procedure throughout the ceremony.

In some jurisdictions, the opening of court is meaningful; in others, the opposite is true. In some courts, the mumbled words, especially their significance, appear to be little understood by the court crier, and, because of the way in which they are uttered, are even less understood by most of those attending court. The solemnity with which court is opened influences, in a large measure, the solemnity of the courtroom audience and their attentiveness to the proceedings. Also, it may often reflect itself in the proceedings that follow. An unimpressive opening handicaps the efforts of those who strive to obtain dignity and impressiveness in later proceedings—just as an impressive one helps this objective.

When the Court Crier of the Supreme Court stands and announces: "The Honorable, The Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States!" and concludes with the unforgettable expression: "God save the United States and this Honorable Court," one feels a spirit of reverence, coupled with a sense of pride, at being in the presence of the Court which protects and defends our Constitution.

A similar effect can be achieved at the opening of the lesser courts to which the future citizen comes to receive his citizenship. Every officer of the court should be in his place as the time approaches for opening. Murmuring, laughing, and talking should cease. All should stand and the courtroom become absolutely quiet as the judge enters and as the court crier clearly, deliberately, and solemnly opens court. Like the opening of the Supreme Court, the occasion can help to give those present a feeling of security and faith in the government which is protected by courts such as these.

THE FLAG

After the opening of court, many judges include in their ritual the advancing of the colors by members of a patriotic organization. Whether this particular procedure is followed or not, there should be an appropriate display of the American flag as the emblem of liberty and the unity of our Nation.

MUSIC

Although music is not generally used at this time, some judges consider music, especially that of the patriotic type, an inspirational contribution. As one of the main objectives of the ceremony is to strengthen the loyalty of the new citizen to the land of his adoption, they believe that there is no objection to the use of music appropriate to the occasion, such as: The Star-Spangled Banner; America; The Stars and Stripes Forever; America The Beautiful; or God Bless America.

INVOCATION

In many of the courts an invocation is pronounced. If this is made a part of the ceremony, it is advisable to follow the practice of rotating this duty among the representatives of the various religious groups in the community.

PRESENTATION OF THE CANDIDATES

Perhaps at no stage in the proceedings are there more local variations than at the presentation, or examination, of candidates for the decree of naturalization. The holding of individual examinations in open court has, with a few exceptions, been discarded as impractical. As such examinations take time, become burdensome, and not infrequently rob citizenship induction of its significance, the better practice is to conduct them at sometime prior thereto through the naturalization examiner. However, a distinction could be made between the courts that do not have time for individual examination and the courts, particularly those with small classes, whose judges do have time in which to deal with individual applicants. Although many judges frankly admit the impracticability of the individual examination in the courts with large classes, they recognize the merits of such examination when the applicants are few in number.

If the method of individual examination of applicants is followed, this examination should not be in the nature of a review of the work previously done by the examiner. It should be along lines designed to establish "an actual human personal relationship between the individual and the court as a representative of the Government." It should be of such a nature as to impress upon the mind of the petitioner that he is being given the personal attention of the court and that the court itself is personally interested in seeing him become a part of this Nation.

Some courts ask each applicant a few questions, inquiring about the length of time he has been in this country, country of birth, name, occupation, and such general questions as establish him as an individual in the eyes of the court. Other judges have requested the naturalization examiner to give similar information in behalf of each applicant, as a part of the recommendation to citizenship. Changing the questions as much as possible, to impress upon each applicant the judge's interest in each one, will tend to change the nature of the ceremony from that of a mere formality into a natural, personal relationship between the applicant and the court as a representative of the Government.

However, most courts, especially those with large classes, have adopted the procedure of accepting the favorable recommendation of the designated examiner. The designated examiner is required to submit his findings and recommendations to the court at the final hearing. Most of the courts, therefore, recognize the examiner, or other official, and accept his report that the applicants presented are duly qualified and eligible for citizenship. This results in a smooth-running procedure, which avoids the disturbed state of mind on the part of the applicant that is sometimes caused by an examination in the courtroom. It has also been found that the system of approval or disapproval by examiners in preliminary hearings operates equitably.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Like the opening of court, the taking of the oath should be divorced from routine and made impressive. The oath of allegiance to the United States is profoundly significant and soul searching and should be solemnly and impressively administered. Generally the clerk of court administers the oath. Sometimes he possesses a good voice, which may make his performance more effective than that of a judge who is not so well equipped vocally. However, some judges believe that the oath of allegiance should be administered by the judge himself. They consider it not only a duty but a privilege to administer the oath and make of it a ceremony of dignity with which to impress and honor the new citizens. Whether the judge, the clerk, or the deputy clerk of the court administers the oath, the important point is that it be done well. When the applicant for citizenship forswears allegiance and fidelity to his native land and pledges his faith and allegiance to his adopted country, he is entitled to have the oath that he takes clearly and impressively administered and not incoherently mumbled. Deep emotional responses can be aroused by an oath clearly and judiciously given and sincerely and thoughtfully repeated.

Some courts prefer that the candidates for citizenship remain silent while the oath is administered and show their affirmation by a clear "I do" at the end. Others require—which seems more impressive—that the applicants repeat the oath of allegiance in unison as it is said to them in groups of words spoken distinctly so that they can easily and clearly repeat each phrase and understand its meaning.

The oath of allegiance is full of meaning for the new citizen. In the first part of the oath he severs the ties that bind him to the land of his birth. He renounces and abjures his allegiance to his native country. In the second part of the oath he pledges his faith and sole allegiance to the United States of America, and promises that he will bear arms or perform noncombatant service or work of national importance, if required by law, for his adopted country. In essence, he begins life anew in the land of his adoption. Strong emotions must stir his soul as he renounces his native land—the home of his childhood, of his parents, and of his friends—and surrenders the flag of his native country for that of another. But the new allegiance, so assumed, does not and should not be considered to cut off the ties of friendship and love that bind the new citizen to his family, friends, and memories, as distinguished from the political allegiance that is forever cut asunder.

The simple words conveying citizenship take on a deeper meaning today than ever before. Many take this oath with tears of gratitude. They are joining the great family of citizens enjoying the cherished principles of freedom. They are pledging themselves to a great ideal, and are purposing to do their bit to sustain and uphold that ideal. They are becoming a part of this nation just as the nation becomes a part of them. They are coming into a heritage; they are being granted a privilege; they are being offered an opportunity.

ADDRESS TO NEW CITIZENS

Like the oath of allegiance, the address to the new citizens should be impressive and inspirational, a fitting climax to the naturalization proceedings.

Long before the passage by Congress of the joint resolution directing that: "Either at the time of the rendition of the decree of naturalization, or at such other time as the judge may fix, the judge or someone designated by him shall address the newly naturalized citizens upon the form and genius of our government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship," judges, or others designated by them, delivered these addresses in many Federal and State courts. In fact it was the beneficial results of these addresses that partly inspired the inclusion of the clause in the resolution designed to make the address a part of the procedure in every naturalization court. When and where the address should be delivered, by whom, and the type of address, were properly left by Congress to the judge of the court.

Generally addresses are delivered in the courtroom, although occasionally they are delivered sometime later in a ceremony honoring new citizens. The judge, or a guest, or both deliver an address.

Decision as to who should deliver the address was wisely left to the discretion of the individual judge. The judge is, and rightly should be, the one who is responsible for final naturalization. He is familiar with local conditions and practices and should be able to decide whether or not it is desirable that an outstanding citizen from a legal, educational, patriotic, religious, or other organization make the address to the naturalization class.

The practice of having an outside speaker is followed by many judges with apparent success. In some instances, perhaps, an outside speaker, such as a notable foreign-born citizen of the United States, can more effectively convey the significance of that citizenship. In other instances, undoubtedly the better medium for such expression is the judge himself.

Sometimes the address is delivered before the taking of the oath and sometimes afterwards. Quite frequently the oath itself forms the basis for the address. Some judges consider this an excellent time to explain the meaning of the oath and to dissipate any erroneous ideas concerning it. The opportunity is provided to give the new citizens a clearer conception of what is required in the renunciation of allegiance to their native countries and of what is included in the assumption of a new loyalty to the United States. Generally, whether inspired by the oath or not, the address centers around the theme of the implication of citizenship, emphasizing alike the duties and privileges, the obligations and rights of our American democracy. The address should be short, inspirational, and expressed in simple English.

A national crisis always brings resurgence of faith in the American way of life. In dark hours of our civilization, especially in times of war when the loyalty of all is essential to victory, more and more emphasis is given to the fact that all creeds and all races have made America. In order to create in the newly naturalized citizens a feeling of belonging to America, and a willingness to do their part for her, judges have pointed out contributions to the American way of life by such foreign-born Americans as:

WERNHER VON BRAUN from Germany, a guiding genius in America's rocket program. As a result of his knowledge and efforts the first American earth satellite was put into orbit in 1958.

ANDREW CARNEGIE from Scotland, who was a well known industrialist and philanthropist.

JAMES J. DAVIS from Wales, a former Secretary of Labor and United States Senator.

ANNA MARIA ALBERGHETTI from Italy, a widely known actress and an outstanding singer.

WALTER JOHANNES DAMROSCH from Germany, who was a well known musician and conductor.

JOHN MCCORMACK from Ireland, who was known world-wide as a famous singer.

Father **EDWARD FLANAGAN** from Ireland, who strengthened the fight against juvenile delinquency with the philosophy "there is no such thing as a bad boy," and who was recognized as an inspirational leader working in behalf of American youth.

Joseph Pulitzer from Hungary, who founded the widely known newspaper, The New York World; who gave $1,000,000 to Columbia University for the first school of journalism in America; and who raised funds to bring the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty to America and place it at the entrance to New York Harbor.

Carl Schurz from Germany, who was the loyal friend of Abraham Lincoln and one of his first supporters for the Presidency. No citizen loved, or understood, his country better. America's finest concept of patriotism may be found in his immortal words: "My country right or wrong; if right to be kept right, if wrong to be set right."

Alexander Graham Bell from Scotland, who gave to the world one of the greatest inventions of the age, the telephone. Bell's sturdy character and scientific achievements made him one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Angelo Patri from Italy, who, in his teaching, placed emphasis upon the child and helped the parent understand the child; out of this grew the first Parent-Teachers Association in America—a historic milestone in the educational field.

Albert Einstein from Germany, the theoretical physicist whose discoveries in that field earned him world-wide renown.

Felix Frankfurter from Austria, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Such as these have brought their gifts to America! Throughout our history, certain immigrants have achieved greatness in various fields of activity, but these alone could never have made America great. Year after year, foreign-born Americans, countless thousands from the great common people, have played simpler, though not less essential, roles in making America great. It is fitting, therefore, that the addresses stress, as they have frequently done, the worth and importance of every individual citizen—particularly of the ordinary man.

More and more the addresses given at these ceremonies include emphasis upon the sacredness of human personality and upon the inherent, inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which have their roots in the Divine—not to be taken away by any human power. Recognition should be given to the fact that our country is the only nation on earth that includes the right to the pursuit of human happiness in its basic principles.

The sacred rights of American democracy were established by the first immigrants to America and were strengthened by the millions who followed them. These rights will continue to be upheld, as they have been in the past, only as long as they are recognized not merely as privileges to be enjoyed but as a trust to be maintained and defended.

Maintenance and defense of this trust challenges every American citizen to make a positive and continuing contribution to America. Lip loyalty is not sufficient. Repeating the American Creed, or pledging allegiance to the flag, or singing songs about our country becomes an empty form unless followed by activities that add to the individual and total happiness of our people. Celebration of national holidays and Citizenship Day becomes meaningless unless the spirit every day is a "good citizen" day.

Each citizen must do his part to make democracy work for all, instead of expecting it to work for him alone. The Golden Rule must prevail, and hate, with all of its kindred evils, must be eliminated from the heart. Hate, prejudice, and bigotry, whether religious or racial, tear down and destroy and can have no place in our democracy.

The address might well point out that above all the new citizens must not be content with the progress already made. Much yet remains to be done to achieve the ideals set by those who have gone before. Many inadequacies still exist in our American life—inadequacies that can be removed in a legal and orderly way. Because the flag does not fly over a perfect country, sovereign citizens, genuine and faithful in purpose, must be ever mindful of their trust to hand on to the next generation a greater and better America than they themselves found.

CERTIFICATES OF NATURALIZATION AND MEMENTOS OF THE OCCASION

Some judges make the presentation of certificates of naturalization a part of the regular ceremonial. These judges believe that the awarding of certificates at this time carries much greater significance than the handing out of them by the clerk at a later date. Such presentation requires the cooperation of court officials, representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and others. Photographs and signatures must be appended to the certificates and details completed just prior to the final ceremony.

Mementos, such as small American flags, copies of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, or the Bill of Rights, or of the American's Creed, furnish a concrete symbol of the emotions experienced at the time of the assumption of citizenship. An attractive program, with the American flag decorating the front page and the names of the new citizens printed within, may be given to each one as a remembrance of the occasion of his admission as a citizen. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the souvenir need not be expensive, but it should be of sufficiently good quality that the new citizen will cherish it as a keepsake. A beautiful little flag, in keeping with the intrinsic worth of citizenship, makes a desired memento. Many place their first flag in the Bible or other sacred place, and take delight in showing it to visitors or friends. Therefore, care should be exercised that the flag is not of poor or cheap material.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service makes available to each newly naturalized citizen the pamphlet "A Welcome to U.S.A. Citizenship." This publication is the Government's welcome to the new citizen and contains personal messages from the President of the United States, the Attorney General, and the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. It is presented at the time of naturalization, preferably by the presiding judge. Some judges prefer to autograph these pamphlets before delivery in order to increase the personal touch and make more meaningful the welcome of the court at this time.

Generally, representatives of patriotic organizations not only provide, but present, the souvenirs to the new citizens; occasionally, the judge himself makes the presentation after proper acknowledgment has been made to the organization that furnished them. When the latter practice is followed it is in the belief that the memento is more highly prized if the judge presents it himself. Also a friendly handshake and a personal word of congratulation by the judge to each new citizen, as he starts on another stage of the journey of life, is most important.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The courts that make the pledge of allegiance a part of the court ceremonial vary as to the place at which they bring it into the program. Some make the pledge an effective part of the ceremony by placing it immediately after the taking of the oath, and by having both the old and the new citizens participate. The foreign-born are thus no longer treated separately from the rest of the group—they are Americans now. Sometimes one of the students from the many classes which are invited to, and usually do, attend these hearings is selected to lead the pledge of allegiance. On other occasions one of the new citizens is chosen to do so. It is a significant moment when the entire group is caught up in a common feeling, as the new citizens pledge, and the old renew, their allegiance to democratic ideals.

In some instances, the pledge of allegiance follows the address of the judge or his designated representative, and all present in the courtroom join in. A large percentage of the new citizens know the pledge of allegiance to the flag. In some ceremonies, particularly those held in larger auditoriums or stadiums, there is an exchange of flags of the various countries for the flag of the United States, after which the pledge of allegiance is repeated.

The United States flag has deep and noble significance to those who are already citizens. In some respects it may have even deeper significance to those who are just becoming citizens. To those who are already citizens, the flag symbolizes something which they now have; to those who are becoming citizens, it symbolizes something for which they hope but do not yet have—fellowship in the spirit of liberty and the glorious ideals of human freedom. A pledge of allegiance, therefore, to the flag that not only symbolizes but guarantees the sacred right of human freedom and the blessings of American citizenship may fittingly be given anywhere, in the courtroom or any other place.

CLOSING OF COURT

Most courts close in the usual manner. In some courts, however, the pledge of allegiance is followed by the national anthem or "America," after which the retirement of colors takes place. All stand and give proper homage to the flag. This procedure produces an inspirational and appropriate atmosphere for the solemn closing of the court.

Chapter 4

Community Participation

THE JOINT RESOLUTION, as stated earlier, provides for participation of civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship. This naturally leads to the question, "What kind of civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations are contemplated in the joint resolution?"

Numerous organizations, groups, and individuals have participated wholeheartedly in naturalization ceremonies throughout the country and have contributed immeasurably to the impressiveness of the occasions. Not all of these can be listed here. They have included, however, members of the judiciary and of bar associations; the Armed Forces of the United States; the American Legion and other veterans' organizations; the Daughters of the American Revolution; Colonial Dames of America; General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Council of Jewish Women; Boy Scouts of America; Elks; Kiwanis; Rotary; Lions; Civitan clubs; Chambers of Commerce; churches of all denominations; schools; social agencies; and labor organizations. Addresses are often given by members of the local Bar, faculty members of neighboring schools and colleges, or other prominent persons. Flags, pamphlets, and patriotic literature are generally presented by one of the local organizations and further interest is stimulated at many hearings by the presence of some of the teachers who have assisted in the citizenship classes. It may be safely said that many courts construe the resolution to include any, or all, of those mentioned as possible participants in the "effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship."

Needless to say, the same organization, or organizations, should not be drawn upon for every occasion. Many of those mentioned are not found in every community. Even if all were located in any one community, there would be no necessity or expectation that all would participate upon all occasions. The extent to which each organization is utilized depends upon the type of ceremony planned and what it can sincerely and constructively contribute toward carrying out the plan. The judge, with his sense of propriety and dignity as well as his understanding of local situations, is in a position to exercise discrimination in deciding what organizations and which individuals can best help in making an induction ceremony effective.

The need for careful selection of the organizations and individuals who should participate gives force to the reasoning that the judge himself should usually be chairman of the committee to plan the program and that he should perhaps also be the master of ceremonies. If the leadership is assumed by the judge, he can enlist the assistance of different organizations from time to time and can select individuals who will make the program interesting and impressive. In this way a community movement is built up in which large numbers of people become acquainted with the new citizens and the naturalization ceremonies, rather than just particular organizations. An opportunity would thus be afforded for eliminating both the occasional ambitious and self-seeking individual and the petty rivalries among some organizations, which tend to disrupt and destroy the spirit of the occasion. Use should be made only of those organizations or individuals who are actively interested in citizenship activities.

If the judge is confident, however, of his selection of properly qualified people and is sure that no unwise or inappropriate action will be taken by those selected, then he may delegate responsibility for the ceremonial. This has been done in many courts with signal success.

A more or less permanent advisory committee composed of representatives of the Bench and Bar, civil and educational authorities, and representatives of patriotic or other organizations should be appointed to insure an effective ceremonial at each hearing and to integrate properly the courtroom ceremony into the long-time, larger citizenship program that precedes and follows this final step. If the judge himself cannot accept the chairmanship, he should see that a person of standing in the community is appointed to head this important committee, a person who can command the respect of every member of the committee, one who understands the significance of ceremonies and knows how to obtain cooperation in putting on a fitting program. Well-planned citizenship programs, in which there is an active participation by representatives of the community not only during the court ceremony but also before and after, can go far toward blending the new citizen into the community and making him a part of America.

PART II

National Citizenship Recognition

Chapter 1

Origin

RECOGNITION of the significance of citizenship is not new. The origin of the idea of community recognition ceremonies is not known. Here and there community celebrations were held to honor the new citizens from other countries who had achieved citizenship through naturalization and also the youth of our land who had reached the age of maturity—both groups entitled to take their places of responsibility in the civic and political life of the Nation and the localities where they lived. Only in recent years, however, has there been widespread effort to emphasize the significance of American citizenship on a national scale.

In the spring of 1940, the Immigration and Naturalization Service joined interested civic and fraternal organizations in recommending to the Congress that a National Citizenship Day be established. As a result, Congress passed Public Resolution No. 67 later that year, authorizing the President to issue an annual proclamation setting aside the third Sunday in May as "I Am An American Day" as a public occasion for the recognition of all who, by coming of age or naturalization, have attained the status of citizenship.

The first Presidential proclamation of this newly established "Day" was issued May 3, 1940. Since then annual celebrations have been held in many communities throughout the Nation.

During the years that followed the first "I Am An American Day" observance, there developed an increasing awareness of the fact that certain of the problems and difficulties encountered in planning and conducting those observances were related to the inappropriateness of the timing, a spring date not being conducive to the attainment of maximum effectiveness. Meanwhile, the earlier interest in another movement to commemorate the signing of the Constitution had been gaining momentum.

The Constitution of the United States was signed on September 17, 1787, and, although that date has been referred to as Constitution Day, and the occasion variously commemorated from time to time by independent organized groups throughout the country, there had never been a congressional resolution designating September 17 as a day for observance.

Citizenship and the Constitution are inseparable. Therefore, the recognition, observance, and commemoration of United States citizenship are closely related to the basic purpose of commemorating the signing of the Constitution. When the proposal to change the date and designation of "I Am An American Day" was under consideration, it seemed most appropriate to set September 17 as the commemoration date and "Citizenship Day" as the designation of that event.

Accordingly, on February 29, 1952, Congress, acting jointly, repealed the earlier resolution and in the following resolution designated September 17 of each year as Citizenship Day:

> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the 17th day of September of each year is hereby designated as "Citizenship Day" in commemoration of the formation and signing, on September 17, 1787, of the Constitution of the United States and in recognition of all who, by coming of age or by naturalization have attained the status of citizenship, and the President of the United States is hereby authorized to issue annually a proclamation calling upon officials of the Government to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on such day, and inviting the people of the United States to observe the day in schools and churches, or other suitable places, with appropriate ceremonies.
>
> That the civil and educational authorities of States, counties, cities, and towns be, and they are hereby, urged to make plans for the proper observance of this day and for the full instruction of citizens in their responsibilities and opportunities as citizens of the United States and of the States and localities in which they reside.
>
> Nothing herein shall be construed as changing, or attempting to change, the time or mode of any of the many altogether commendable observances of similar nature now being held from time to time, or periodically, but, to the contrary, such practices are hereby praised and encouraged.
>
> SEC. 2. Either at the time of the rendition of the decree of naturalization or at such other time as the judge may fix, the judge or someone designated by him shall address the newly naturalized citizen upon the form and genius of our Government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship; it being the intent and purpose of this section to enlist the aid of the judiciary, in cooperation with civil and educational authorities, and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship.
>
> SEC. 3. The joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim I Am an American Citizen

Day, for the recognition, observance, and commemoration of American citizenship," approved May 3, 1940 (54 Stat. 178), is hereby repealed.

SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved February 29, 1952.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

On August 2, 1956, Congress approved a joint resolution which authorized the designation of the week beginning September 17 of each year as "Constitution Week", a time for study and observance of the acts which resulted in the formation of the Constitution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to designate the period beginning September 17 and ending September 23 of each year as Constitution Week, and to issue annually a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe such week in schools, churches, and other suitable places with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

RICHARD M. NIXON,
Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved August 2, 1956.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

The President each year issues a single proclamation under these resolutions calling upon the people of this Nation to rededicate themselves to the principles of good citizenship.

A closely related movement—one that gives significance and effect to the annual proclamation—is the Annual National Conference on Citizenship. The Conference brings together at the Nation's Capital the most comprehensive cross section of organizations and agencies to be found in any single National meeting. Included are all levels from the fields of education, government and business.

The purpose of the Conference is to support and strengthen the efforts of the people in maintaining the blessings of freedom and justice and in protecting and perpetuating the principles and ideals upon which this Nation is founded; to develop a more thorough knowledge of citizenship rights and responsibilities; to inspire a deeper devotion to citizenship obligations; to encourage even more effective participation in citizenship activities and to promote a spirit of cooperation on the part of all citizens.

The holding of an Annual National Conference on Citizenship began in 1946 and has been held annually coincident with the celebration of "I Am An American Day," or "Citizenship Day." The Conference was first sponsored by the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association. They took an active part in the Conference until August 13, 1953 at which time the President signed a bill passed unanimously by Congress which granted a Federal Charter to the Conference establishing it as an independent organization.

In recent years the Conference program on the Washington Monument grounds in the Nation's Capital combined naturalization proceedings with Citizenship Day observance. The naturalization proceedings precede the wreath-laying ceremony and are an especially appropriate and impressive feature of the entire program.

Chapter 2

The Program

NO DETAILED OUTLINE or set of procedures for building the Citizenship Day and Constitution Week Program can be suggested. Observance of the day may take any one of a variety of forms, depending upon the local situation and the community's own peculiar needs. Sound planning is essential for the production of a timely and well-balanced program in any community regardless of whether that community is large or small, or has other characteristics.

In order to make the program a success, careful attention should be given to organizations from which the necessary committees are chosen; to the time element to avoid "last minute" problems arising from lack of sufficient time; thorough planning by the main committee requiring regular reports of progress by subcommittees, as well as adequate financial support for carrying out the plans.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEES

It is usually desirable to organize an overall or General Committee with an Executive Committee, which in turn may set up appropriate subcommittees. The General Committee should be broadly inclusive of community interests. All organizations and agencies promoting better citizenship, especially those specifically related to the two major groups to be recognized, should be represented.

Because citizenship applies to all alike, Citizenship Day and Constitution Week are occasions that emphasize fundamental loyalty to the American ideal—not to any group or individual cause, no sectarian, partisan, or any other interests of that nature should ever enter into the organization and planning of the program. The Committee should be a truly democratic one, and its chairman and committees should be selected with only the interest of our country in mind.

To keep the program in the hands of effective leadership and maintain enthusiasm, the chairmanship of the General Committee and probably the membership of the Executive Committee should be rotated every year or two. A continuing or interim committee, or some other form of extended organization, should be formed to follow up on plans or decisions that carry over from year to year and to do a certain amount of work in preparation for the program of the succeeding year. Failure to establish such a committee has been a distinct weakness in many communities. Each year a completely new organization has to be set up, and a new start made on planning for the celebration.

The subcommittees, appointed by the chairman of the General Committee or named in some other way, need not necessarily be members of the General Committee. Emphasis should be upon obtaining people skilled and experienced in the area of the committee's responsibility.

For example, if it is decided to have a parade, an experienced parade committee should be appointed. To plan and supervise the parade, determine the route, arrange for marching units, approve the number and type of floats, and make the parade beautiful, dignified, and patriotic, require not only an enthusiastic committee but one well versed in such matters.

Likewise, if there is to be a pageant, it is essential that the planning and organization be in the hands of a trained person. Experienced people can discover and utilize many resources for pageant making in the average community.

Observance can be made more effective in any community by enlisting the cooperation of all community resources, including publicity media, educational and religious institutions, as well as veteran, patriotic, social service, labor and business groups.

Some of the committees have reported successful community cooperation as follows:

Churches have marked the observance by arranging special orders of worship, including prayers, responses, and music appropriate to the occasion, or by using citizenship themes in their sermons.

Schools have held special assemblies; pertinent programs have been given in the classrooms. Class instruction in such subjects as social studies and English have been geared to the subject of

"Citizenship" during the weeks preceding the date of the ceremony. Poster and essay contests have been encouraged.

Clubs and lodges have presented programs based on "Citizenship" just in advance of the ceremonial date.

Discussion groups have been organized.

Libraries have organized exhibits of books, maps, and pictures.

Window displays stressing the theme of "Citizenship" have been shown by department stores.

Special radio programs and telecasts have been arranged in local communities.

Motion picture theaters have arranged brief programs throughout the week immediately preceding the date of the official ceremony.

Chapter 6 of Part III herein on programs lists sugggested committees and their duties.

RELATION TO BROADER PROGRAMS

Although the desirability of making the Citizenship Day and Constitution Week celebrations an integral part of a long-time, larger citizenship program cannot be discussed fully here, consideration should be given to the possibility of developing this relationship, since it is a vital factor, perhaps even the basic factor, in the future growth of the observance. The communities whose educational authorities, patriotic organizations, civic and religious groups, and other agencies and individuals carry on citizenship education before and after Citizenship Day and Constitution Week not only better prepare their citizens for serious reflection on the significance of this particular event, but condition them for better participation in the daily activities of community, State, National, and world life.

Communities should try to extend the period devoted to recognition of citizenship beyond the annual ceremony. Activities on every day of the week should emphasize the significance of citizenship, the blessings of the Constitution, and lead to a greater understanding and appreciation of the more formal program that usually accompanies the final observance.

In large centers where tens of thousands of people attend the celebration of Citizenship Day and Constitution Week and where thousands probably see nothing more basic in the ceremony than a spectacular display, it is especially worthwhile to emphasize observance of a citizenship recognition week and even to hold neighborhood celebrations, for example, in churches, schools, or community centers during this period.

Some communities use this educational or preparatory week for informal group discussions that will be helpful to the newly naturalized citizen. Other communities hold meetings that are in the nature of an interesting and valuable extension of the studies that the new citizens have just completed to attain naturalization. Occasionally these meetings take the form of brief but inspirational presentations of the basic institutions underlying our type of government. Often they deal with current subjects about which the new citizen will be called upon to decide.

In some states legislation has been passed and educational plans have been devised for the benefit of the new voter who has just reached maturity, the better to prepare him for full and responsible citizenship. The Extension Divisions of several universities have participated in formulating plans for discussion groups in their respective States.

No more important subject can be emphasized to the new voter during this period of preparation than the significance of suffrage.

It is vital for every American—in fact it is the sacred duty of every citizen—to make known his will through the priceless heritage, the ballot. Yet some of our citizens, who are outstanding in ministerial bodies, bar and medical associations, women's clubs, and other groups subscribe to the principle that they cannot afford to take part in politics. They complain of bad government, yet neglect the golden opportunity offered them to better conditions by exercising their right to vote. Even if they do vote, many of them cast their ballots in abject ignorance of the qualifications of the candidates running for office and of the issues at stake—ignorant perhaps even of the world-shaping events that their votes may start in motion. Millions of our citizens do not even take the trouble to vote, either in Presidential or in local elections.

Constitution Week is an opportune occasion during which to stress the significance of suffrage. Communities would do well to take one day of that week to encourage one hundred percent registration of eligible voters and to urge an understanding and complete participation in elections. This could be done on a nonpartisan basis, to avoid any suggestion of political motivation.

CITIZENS CHOSEN FOR SPECIAL HONOR

The selection of certain groups of citizens for honor on Citizenship Day and during Constitution Week dramatizes recognition of United States citizenship. Citizenship Day was instituted for the recognition of youths of native birth just arrived at voting age, and those from other countries recently naturalized.

Each year approximately three million young men and women, who are already citizens, reach the age at which they acquire certain rights and privileges. At this time, they begin participation in the civic and political life of their communities, States, and the Nation. This participation requires the performance of certain duties and the acceptance of certain obligations—in essence, dedication to the principles of the Constitution.

Each year also, by meeting the requirements of naturalization, a large number of men and women of foreign birth acquire the rights and privileges of citizenship and stand ready to take part in the affairs of the Nation.

On Citizenship Day and during Constitution Week, both groups join with all other United States citizens in publicly pledging their willingness to shoulder their share of responsibility.

When our country honors its citizens on these occasions it gives a national demonstration of appreciation for both groups. Through emphasis on the significance of citizenship, this nation-wide observance helps these two groups of new voters to understand more fully the great privileges and responsibilities that go with their citizenship and to obtain a better concept of the patriotic, spiritual, and moral integrity essential to the maintenance of the American way of life.

In addition to the two major groups, many communities have chosen also to honor individual citizens who during the year have best exemplified the "Good Citizen"—members of the community who have given outstanding civic and patriotic performances.

Many heroes from the armed services have been honored, and are still honored, at these observances. They frequently speak upon such occasions and their remarks are always well received because they, themselves, exemplify Americanism. Almost without exception the real hero shares this honor with the unrecognized, unhonored, and unsung heroes. Each recognizes that no individual plays his part alone, but that all must think and work together for the good of the whole.

The special groups or individuals chosen for honor may be accorded recognition in various ways. They may receive special mention or attention during the ceremonies. They may occupy places of prominence on the program and may receive citations and medals, certificates of citizenship, certificates of public recognition, souvenirs or mementos, or other recognitions.

On one occasion, Justice Felix Frankfurter, who came to this country from Vienna at the age of 11, delivered certificates of citizenship to nine men and women. Each coming from a different country, they represented all of the new citizens who had been naturalized during the preceding year.

Increasingly, Citizenship Day has come to be regarded as the time when all citizens may come together for a common ideal, thereby adding to the unity from which this Nation draws much of its strength. In essence, they pay homage to the country "which they share in wondrous equality." This broader significance of the day has also been repeatedly emphasized in the annual Presidential Proclamations, and by the proclamations issued by the Governors of States, mayors of cities, and other officials.

In the final analysis, the motivations in honoring both major groups and selected individuals on Citizenship Day and during Constitution Week are the need to impress upon all members of the community the significance of citizenship, the desire to honor all citizens who have advanced the well-being of our country, and the opportunity to use the occasion as a time of rededication by each of us to the ideals and principles of the American way of life.

GENERAL THEME

Although the fundamental or basic idea centering around the significance of citizenship is always the same, a general or national theme, appropriate to current conditions, is suggested annually.

Around this theme communities usually plan their special programs for the observance of Citizenship Day and Constitution Week.

However, a fresh meaning for the word "citizenship" and a more personal appeal to the audience can be best achieved if the theme for the observance has a local significance, as well as meaning for the State and the Nation. It is the unique contribution for each locality and its close ties with the rest of the Nation that should be kept in mind.

The theme, whatever it may be, always has as its major purpose to keep alive the devotion to our heritage that has made this country strong, united, and free.

It is not obligatory, however, for communities to accept the general theme. A current local situation may make the selection of a different theme more appropriate.

The elements and methods used to achieve the theme will differ from place to place to meet the needs of the particular community and to fit into the local resources from program-making. Ceremonies include both large community-sponsored celebrations and programs given by smaller units, such as neighborhood centers, schools, churches, libraries, clubs and organizations. A citizenship recognition program for the whole community, especially in a big city, requires a large hall, an open square or a park or stadium, and complicated planning; while a neighborhood program put on by a church or school requires a less pretentious setting and no involved planning.

Whether the observance is held in the Capital of the Nation, in a great metropolis, or in a small town, the program should reflect basic ideas on citizenship. If the ceremony portrays and makes impressive such ideas, if all parts of the program—the parades, music, and song; the pageants, tableaux, pantomime, and dances; the addresses, essays, and reading; the prayers, pledges, oaths of allegiance, creeds, and codes; the recognitions and awards—are built around a central theme that emphasizes the worth and meaning of United States citizenship, the occasion will be a moving and memorable experience. If, however, the elements of the program are thrown together and haphazardly carried out, without regard to a unifying theme, then the ceremony can become ineffective and be without value for the citizens honored and for those honoring them.

The program should be varied from year to year, both as to selection of theme and method of presentation. A community might build a theme one year about songs and dances of the diverse peoples represented in its population. Another year it could give tableaux showing the motive each group had for coming to America, such as political or religious liberty, freedom from oppressive laws, or better economic opportunities.

If the Bill of Rights furnishes the theme for one year, the next year might find the community reviewing its own part in carrying the ideals of liberty to more people or in making sacrifices to maintain the principles outlined in the Bill of Rights. Whatever the theme—when used for parades, radio and television programs, school and other group celebrations—it serves as a common link. For any period of time, depending upon community desires, the theme can build unity of purpose, feeling and action.

Good citizenship is an ideal for every day of the year.

PARADES

Parades leave a lasting impression if they are well organized, colorful, spirited, and symbolic. A parade can stimulate an interest and enthusiasm that make the audience emotionally responsive to the obligations of citizenship. An inspiring, band-studded, patriotic parade touches the hearts of those who watch it.

Some communities hold their parade on a week day, leaving Sunday for the recognition ceremony. In other communities, the parade precedes the main ceremony. In still other places the parade is held during the day, with the program in the evening.

The parade should be well planned, and its posters, floats, and music should be in harmony with the theme of the day. The procession should include both old citizens and new—the younger voter and the naturalized. Patriotic, fraternal, civic, and school groups, and all other groups and individuals who will help to emphasize community and national unity should be represented. Such comprehensive participation helps to wipe out old-world hatreds and long-held prejudices and to prepare all citizens for working together toward the common goal of mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation. A colorful parade, participated in by the many and varied units of the community, promotes community solidarity and symbolizes the importance of United States citizenship.

PAGEANTS

Many communities convey the significance of American citizenship by means of a pageant. Events and personages of national and local history can be impressively dramatized through the use of musical interpretation, tableaux, pantomime, and dances. Episodes that feature several national groups afford an opportunity to stress the concept of unity that underlies United States citizenship, particularly if they have as a climax one in which the groups are unified and appear as "Americans All."

Some communities are fortunate in having nationality groups that can contribute out of the richness of their cultural heritage to the pageant with folk songs, colorful costumes, and distinctive dances. For example, one program vividly symbolized the message of the day in a portrayal of oppressed foreign-born groups arriving at the Statue of Liberty in search of the American ideal.

In another program, twenty-two nationalities presented "America; with Liberty and Justice for All" in eight tableaux. Men and women in the dress of their native countries represented scenes of American industry and culture. The contrast of foreign costumes and American scenes emphasized the unity that these groups achieve through their United States citizenship.

In another program, twelve scenes of pageantry and song unfolded in beauty and solemnity the history of the Nation's growth from the Indians' first sight of the White Man, through the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, into the gay Nineties, the Spanish-American War, World War I, the roaring Twenties, the Thirties, and World War II. A prologue to each sketch of these stepping stones of the Nation gave the audience a vivid narrative picture of the country's history.

One community, through tableaux, depicted Five Freedoms—"Freedom From Want," "Freedom From Fear," "Freedom of Speech," "Freedom From Prejudice," and "Freedom of Religion." The "Freedom of Religion" included a Protestant father reading the Bible to his children; a mother of the Eastern Orthodox Church worshipping in the icon corner; a Roman Catholic mother and her child praying before the Crucifix; a Jewish family gathered to light the candles on Friday evening; and a Moslem, a Hindu, and a Buddhist worshipping in their traditional ways.

These are only a few of the pageants of America's history that harmonize with the theme and spirit of Citizenship Day and Constitution Week observance. Other appropriate themes for pageants are: American Struggle for Freedom; Heroes of Liberty; The Story of the Flag. No matter what theme is used for the pageant, it should always harmonize with the general theme of the local celebration.

Several other suggested themes could be: Redeclaration of Independence; Building the Peace; America—With Liberty and Justice for All; Progress of Our Nation; Americans All; America of Tomorrow; The True Citizen; Working Together; Unity or Disaster; As Strong as Its Citizens; What Price Freedom?

PRAYERS AND SERMONS

Set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, is the principle that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights that have their roots in the Divine and are not to be taken away by any human power. These two sacred documents give substance to aspirations that men have cherished in their hearts since the dawn of history—the ideals of citizenship.

It is fitting, therefore, that all faiths join in the celebrations to reaffirm their belief in these ideals, and to give a spiritual and moral aspect to the occasion. They should not only contribute a religious note to the main celebration of the day, but the morning services should be in harmony with the day's theme. In so doing each member of the congregation has the opportunity of renewing his devotion to the ideals of this country and of reemphasizing the significance of his citizenship.

The observance affords the churches an unusual opportunity to add their own important contribution to a day of high possibilities by stressing the spiritual qualities of citizenship.

Church participation may consist of publicizing the occasion in church bulletins and periodicals, and at gatherings or meetings of members of the congregations. In church groups, a special service could be arranged to honor newly naturalized citizens, and if there are no such citizens in a particular congregation, the service could bring to the attention of members the contributions naturalized citizens have made to the life of our country, stressing the need for brotherhood and unity among all groups. Discussions of the day and its meaning could also be planned for all church activities for the principal benefit of all young men and women who have recently arrived at voting age as well as the newly naturalized citizens. Emphasis could be placed through all available channels upon the spiritual values underlying American democracy, and appeal made to the congregations for rededication by all to responsible and active citizenship.

Reports from many localities indicate that all religious faiths are making increasing contributions to the success of Citizenship Day observances, both in the programs celebrating the day and in the church services. In many communities, all groups have joined together in community programs and in the work of program committees. No creed has prevented them from doing their part to give a spiritual impact to the principles—inalienable in origin—laid down by the Founding Fathers.

Communities differ in the extent to which religious groups participate in the main ceremony. In some places only the invocation is offered and the National Anthem closes the ceremony. In other communities, an invocation opens the ceremony and a benediction concludes it. In still other places, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews have participated in the program, through an invocation, a prayer near the middle of the program, and a benediction. In some communities participation is rotated among the several faiths, with only one faith participating each year.

The representatives of the religious faiths who are selected to take part in the program should be fully advised of the significance of Citizenship Day and Constitution Week if they do not already know and appreciate its purpose. In many of the celebrations, the sermons and prayers have been sublime appeals for recognition of the basic principles of citizenship.

Whether in the services of the synagogue or church, or in the prayers of the formal celebrations, religious expression is generally woven around the essence of good citizenship—including the guarantees of freedom of religion.

PLEDGES, CREEDS, AND CODES

The recital of the American's Creed, the Oath of Allegiance, and the pledge to the Flag, the singing of patriotic songs, and the Salute to the Flag afford opportunity for expression of the spiritual and patriotic significance of the occasion. Especially is this true when the recital is made impressive by stressing the meaning of each in relation to the United States. Every one participating should have an understanding of the meaning and significance of the creed that is recited, the pledge that is uttered, and the vow that is made.

Likewise, the American's Creed is repeated with more appreciation by an audience when it realizes that the Creed sums up "the best in American ideals, history, and tradition, as expressed by the Founders of the Republic and its greatest statesmen and writers."

A citizen who understands the American's Creed, believes in its principles, and lives up to its mandates is an American in thought and in action.

Audience participation, if carefully planned, can be made a very effective part of the program. Mass recital of the American's Creed, the Oath of Allegiance, and the Pledge to the Flag; the singing of patriotic songs; and the Salute to the Flag should, however, be under capable direction. In order to stimulate the audience to better understanding and deeper appreciation of the part in which they share, the leader of audience participation may use an emotional part of the occasion for a short but meaningful expression before the Pledge is given.

ADDRESSES

An address offers one of the best mediums for emphasizing the importance of citizenship. Like the address to new citizens at the court induction ceremony, it should be short and inspirational and should center around the implications of citizenship. Speeches that tax audiences to boredom with scattered thoughts, lengthily extended and poorly delivered, can do much to kill the effectiveness of Citizenship Day ceremonies. Emphasizing alike the duties and privileges, the obligations and rights of our American citizenship, an address can make a lasting impression upon an audience and deepen its devotion to our democracy.

In recent years many fine addresses have been delivered. Several factors were responsible for their success. One of the most important was the care that many communities exercised in selecting the principal speaker. Generally, only outstanding speakers, either from the locality itself or from the outside, were chosen. Occasionally, notable foreign-born citizens or heroes returned from the battle fronts were selected. Persons from the latter groups delivered messages that were deeply felt by the listeners. They were appreciated all the more because the speakers themselves exemplified the meaning of citizenship.

Addresses should have titles descriptive of their content, which should follow the theme of the occasion. They should also be worded to catch the imagination. Suggested titles, some of which have been used, are:

I Am an American
Our American Heritage
Masters, Not Vassals of the State
America's Real Defense
The Future—America's Opportunity
Service—The Real Test of Citizenship
What Price Rights and Privileges
Are We Responsible, Responsive Citizens?
Privileges and Responsibilities of Citizenship
The Value of American Citizenship
Building a Better America at Home and Abroad
The Rights of Free Men
The Blessings of Liberty—How Do We Secure Them?
What the United States Means to Me
United We Stand
Citizenship in a World of Crisis
Building Understanding with Other Nations and Peoples
No Right Without a Duty
Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship
Americanism Exemplified
Thoughts on Individual Freedom
What America Means to Me
I Speak for Democracy
The Challenge of Citizenship
The Meaning of Citizenship
What Is Good Citizenship?
Making Democracy Work
Freedom for Whom?
Responsible American Citizenship.

In developing the theme of the day, speeches can be made effective if the speakers draw illustrations from matters of local interest. A speaker may refer to significant contributions to American life made by the community in the past. He can emphasize "Americanism Exemplified" by extolling the characters of local sons and daughters who have played outstanding roles, locally or nationally. For example, he may speak of heroes who, while serving in the armed forces of the United States, performed valorous deeds; of scientists and educators whose efforts have turned the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge; of humanitarians who, as great servants of mankind, have added to the health, welfare, and happiness of their fellowmen; or of others whose imagination and skill in the creative arts have enriched the lives of their countrymen.

Celebrations held in communities rich in historical background afford speakers the opportunity of recalling to memory, either directly or indirectly, the spiritual heritage of which the monuments and historical places of the community are present witness. They can be used to instill in their listeners a deeper appreciation of their debt to the past and of their obligations to the present and the future.

In the Nation's Capital, for instance, are many shrines that symbolize the soul of our country, that record America's history, and that foretell her destiny. Pointing to the stars, the Washington Monument memorializes the unselfish devotion of the Father of Our Country to the cause of freedom. The Jefferson Memorial embodies the spirit of the man who expressed the basic principles of our national life, who gave to this Nation its democratic mission, and who enunciated the principle that the rights of man are universal. The Lincoln Memorial, dedicated to the memory of a man whose great heart held love for all humanity, calls to mind that liberty is indivisible. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery reminds us that America reverently remembers its unknown and unsung heroes who sacrificed themselves for the rights and privileges that we all enjoy. The National Capitol, itself, silhouetted against an ever-changing sky, signifies to the world the right of a free people to govern themselves.

Truly speakers can most effectively give vivid expression to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship by referring to local and national shrines. In Boston, a speaker would be most remiss if he did not point out the inspiring meaning of the many national shrines in and around that city: Plymouth Rock, where the passengers of the Mayflower, seeking freedom of religion, landed to set up a new type of government; Faneuil Hall, "The Cradle of American Liberty," where Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and others of Revolutionary War fame delivered their fiery speeches, and within whose holy walls once reposed the body of Crispus Attucks, a Negro, the first victim of the Boston massacre and America's first martyr to the cause of freedom; Boston Harbor, where the famous Tea Party flung British tea overboard; the route of Paul Revere's unforgettable ride in the darkness of the night to warn of the coming of the British; Lexington Green, where the War of Independence began; Concord Bridge, marked by a statue of the Minute Man on which is carved the imperishable words—

> Here once the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world;

and Bunker Hill, which bears mute testimony of a military defeat but offers eloquent proof of the unconquerable spirit that ultimately wins when engaged in a righteous cause.

In Philadelphia, where our Nation was born, Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell are never-ending sources of inspiration. Valley Forge, nearby—representing what Washington and his ragged, starving soldiers fought and prayed for—furnishes patriotic and stirring material out of which speeches may be built.

On Virginia soil are many reminders of those giants in mind and spirit who played their part upon the stage of our early national history when our liberty-loving forefathers were small in number, but big in hope and aspiration; Patrick Henry, whose voice rang out in the cause of liberty and sounded the call to battle; George Mason, who laid the cornerstone of individual freedom in the Virginia Bill of Rights; Jefferson, who wrote his zeal for democracy into our Nation's basic charters of liberties—the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States.

Counterparts of Hancock, Adams, Henry, Mason, Jefferson, and Washington, and of countless other patriots who have stood for the great values of life, defended the things we love, protected the things we cherish, and followed the God we worship may be found throughout the history of all the broad reaches of our land.

When speakers remind their audiences of these inspirational contributions to the ideals of liberty, good Americans will renew their efforts to achieve the hopes of the future, to keep the faith of our forefathers, to hold in deep reverence and gratitude our American citizenship.

In this day when distance has been dwarfed, and time telescoped, when the advance of science has brought people everywhere face to face, speakers may well emphasize the interdependence of all mankind.

Speakers should make clear that being a good American does not depend upon whether one is foreign-born or native-born, but upon whether one lives the ideals of an American. Neither race nor creed is vital to it. We must practice brotherhood in time of peace as in time of war.

In discussing freedom of religion and urging that religious differences never separate the American people, many speakers have used examples such as that of the Four Chaplains who went to their death on the night of February 3, 1943, when a loaded troop transport was torpedoed in the North Atlantic. Offering words of encouragement and prayer, they moved calmly about the deck assisting the men to abandon the ship. As the ship settled slowly into the Atlantic, the Four Chaplains, who had given up their life-jackets to enlisted men, could be seen standing beside the deck rail, hand in hand, in an attitude of prayer. Their religion exemplified, their heroism unsurpassed and rarely equaled, the action of the Four Chaplains will go down in our traditions as a shining example of what makes our country "One Nation Indivisible."

While expressing appreciation for the contributions to the building of America that were made by peoples from other countries who voluntarily left the lands of their birth to become Americans, it is desirable that speakers emphasize the need for unqualified allegiance to this country.

It is well to recognize that inadequacies still exist in our American way of life. There are moments when the flag droops in shame at the selfishness and greed of some men and women who are not true to the American heritage. A good America can become a better America. Our country is not perfect. Perhaps it is well that she is not so, for then we would lose the joy of striving for the goal of perfection.

There is still need for good will, understanding, tolerance and friendship to replace the prejudice and bigotry which still prevails among some of our citizens. Our Nation must continue to strive to meet all basic human needs, spiritual as well as physical. Each citizen must do his part to make democracy work for all, instead of expecting it to work for him alone. Only as the individual citizen improves can our Nation improve. In the words of the late President Kennedy, "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country."

PART III

Source Material

Chapter 1

Statements by

Presidents of the United States

GEORGE WASHINGTON:

The unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains wil be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; * * *

Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles.

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The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations And Religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.

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Respect for its authority (the Government), compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitution of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every Individual to obey the established Government.

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The power under the Constitution will always be in the people. It is intrusted for certain defined purposes, and for a certain limited period, to representatives of their own choosing; and, whenever it is executed contrary to their interest, or not agreeable to their wishes, their servants can and undoubtedly will be recalled.

THOMAS JEFFERSON:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

The spirit of our citizens will make this government in practice, what it is in principle, a model for the protection of man in a State of freedom and order.

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political, peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

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But when we come to the moral principles on which the government is to be administered, we come to what is proper for all conditions of society . . . morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the human constitution; that their exists a right independent of force; that a right to property is founded in our natural wants, in the means with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings. * * *

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No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another; and this all from which the laws ought to restrain him; every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of the society; and this all the laws should enforce on him; and, no man having a natural right to be the judge between himself and another, it is his natural duty to submit to the umpirage of an impartial third. When the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions; and the idea is quite unfounded, that on entering into society we give up any natural right.

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In every government on earth there is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its own safe depositories. * * * The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which compose their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; * * *

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We of the United States are constitutionally and conscientiously democrats. We consider society as one of the natural wants with which man has been created; that he has been endowed with facilities and qualities to effect its satisfaction by concurrence of others having the same want; that when, by the exercise of these faculties, he has procured a state of society, it is one of his acquisitions which he has a right to control, jointly indeed with all those who have concurred in the procurement, whom he cannot exclude from its use or direction more than they him. We think experience has proved it safer, for the mass of individuals composing the society, to reserve to themselves personally the exercise of all rightful powers to which they are competent, and to delegate those to which they are not competent to deputies named, and removable for unfaithful conduct, by themselves immediately.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

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Theirs (our American ancestors) was the task—and nobly they performed it—to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only to transmit these—the former unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the latter undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation—to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know.

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Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty elsewhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and to keep it forever worthy of the saving.

We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations.

GROVER CLEVELAND:

Let us look for guidance to the principles of true Democracy, which are enduring because they are right, and invincible because they are just.

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Therefore no true American should be willing to endanger the interests involved in his citizenship, nor the pride which every good man has in the maintenance before the world of the high character of his government, by inaction, or a careless indication of his choice for those to be intrusted with national affairs.

If the popular will in this regard should be voiced by the intelligence and patriotism of our countrymen, and if they should be alert and exacting in the enforcement of their will, the danger of misgovernment and of a misrepresentation of our national character would pass away.

Heretofore we have welcomed all to come to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy, which while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT:

The one overshadowing fact in this process of complete Americanization, the one side of the question that should always be borne in mind, its the enormous benefit it confers upon the person who is Americanized. The gain to the country is real, but the gain to the individual himself is everything. Immigrants who remain aliens, whether in language or political thought, are of comparatively little benefit to the country; but they themselves are the individuals most damaged. The man who becomes completely Americanized—who celebrates our Constitutional Centennial instead of the Queen's Jubilee, or the Fourth of July rather than St. Patrick's Day, and who talks "United States" instead of the dialect of the country which he has of his own free will abandoned—is not only doing his plain duty by his adopted land, but is also rendering to himself a service of immeasurable value.

This last point is one that cannot be too often insisted on. The chief interest served by Americanization is that of the individual himself. A man who speaks only German or Swedish may nevertheless be a most useful American citizen; but it is impossible for him to derive the full benefit he should from American citizenship. And, on the other hand, it is impossible for him, under any circumstances, to retain the benefits incident to being a member of the nation which he has left. It would be hard to imagine another alternative where the advantage was so wholly on one side. The case stands thus: by becoming completely Americanized the immigrant gains every right conferred upon citizenship in the country to which he has come; but if he fails to become Americanized, he nevertheless loses all share and part in the nation which he has left, and gains nothing in return. He cannot possibly remain an Englishman, a German, or a Scandinavian; all he can do is refuse to become an American, and thereby make himself a kind of mongrel waif, of no importance anywhere.

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The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the State; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of of the Republic.

JAMES MONROE:

Such, then, is the happy Government under which we live—a Government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a Government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may by his merit obtain the highest trust recognized by the Constitution; which contains within it no cause of discord, none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a Government which protects every citizen with full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers. * * *

The Government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the able and faithful depositories of their trust is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles, had they been less intelligent, less independent or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady career or been blessed with the same success? While, then, the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state everything will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin.

ULYSSES S. GRANT:

The immigrant is not a citizen of any State or Territory upon his arrival, but comes here to become a citizen of a great Republic, free to change his residence at will, to enjoy the blessings of a protecting Government, where all are equal before the law, and to add to the national wealth by his industry.

On his arrival he does not know States or corporations, but confides implicitly in the protecting arm of the great, free country of which he has heard so much before leaving his native land. * * *

* * * if any one people has more occasion than another for such thankfulness, it is the citizens of the United States, whose Government is their creature, subject to their behests; who have reserved to themselves ample civil and religious freedom and equality before the law * * *

The United States wisely, freely, and liberally offers its citizenship to all who may come in good faith to reside within its limits on their complying with certain prescribed reasonable and simple formalities and conditions. Among the highest duties of the Government is that to afford firm, sufficient, and equal protection to all its citizens, whether native born or naturalized.

We are a republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT:

To obey the law is to support democracy. If every man thinks every law must suit him in order that he shall obey it, he does not support democracy but destroys it. The basis of good government lies in the fact that the people are willing to obey the law as they have determined it to be.

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Now popular government is not an end. It is a means of enabling people to live together in communities, municipal, state and national, and under these conditions to secure to each individual and each class of individuals the greatest measure of happiness. It was to aid this ultimate purpose that our Constitution was adopted. It was not thought by the people who made and ratified it that the majority could always be trusted certainly to accord to the individual just and equitable treatment in his pursuit of happiness. The people, themselves, imposed the restraints upon their own political action contained in the Constitution, the chief of which were the guarantees of individual rights. The security of these rights and all our civil institutions are nothing but means for the promotion of the happiness of the individual and his progress and are to be so regarded.

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A government is for the benefit of all the people. We believe that this benefit is best accomplished by popular government, because in the long run each class of individuals is apt to secure better provision for themselves through their own voice in government than through the altruistic interests of others, however intelligent or philanthropic. The wisdom of ages has taught that no government can exist except in accordance with laws and unless the people under it either obey the laws voluntarily or are made to obey them.

WOODROW WILSON:

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. * * *

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the greater enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. * * *

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. * * * America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. * * * We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. * * *

I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are. * * *

A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. * * *

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

CALVIN COOLIDGE:

Whether one traces his Americanism back three centuries to the Mayflower or three years to the steerage is not half so important as whether his Americanism of today is real and genuine.

* * * * * * *

It is a truism, of course, but it is none the less a fact which we must never forget, that this continent and this American community have been blessed with an unparalleled capacity for assimilating peoples of varying races and nations. The continuing migration which in three centuries has established here this nation of more than a hundred million, has been the greatest that history records in any such brief period. * * *

You who represent the more recent accretions to our population know how generously you have been received. You know how free and unquestioned has been your access to the opportunities of this land. You have been expected to do your honest share of the day's work in a community which ranked productive toil as a distinction rather than a degradation. We have all taken our chance on that condition. Because we have been willing to do so, we have been prospered in material things and what is even more worth while, in the things of the spirit. Generation after generation, from the beginnings of permanent settlement here, the country has been able to receive and absorb a great number of newcomers from the older countries.

* * * * * * *

When each citizen submits himself to the authority of law, he does not thereby decrease his independence or freedom, but rather increases it. By recognizing that he is part of a larger body which is banded together for a common purpose, he becomes more than an individual, he rises to a new dignity of citizenship. Instead of finding himself restricted and confined by rendering obedience to public law, he finds himself protected and defended and in the exercise of increased and increasing rights. It is true that as civilization becomes more complex it is necessary to surrender more and more of the freedom of action and live more and more according to the rule of public regulation, but it is also true that the rewards and privileges which come to a member of organized society increase in a still greater proportion. Primitive life has its freedom and attraction, but the observances of modern civilization enhances the privileges of living a thousandfold. * * *

American citizenship is a high estate. He who holds it is the peer of kings. It has been secured only by untold toil and effort. It will be maintained by no other method. It demands the best that men and women have to give. But it likewise awards its partakers the best that there is on earth. To attempt to turn it into a thing of ease and inaction would be only to debase it. To cease to struggle and toil and sacrifice for it is not only to cease to be worthy of it but is to start a retreat toward barbarism. No matter what others may say, no matter what others may do, this is the stand that those must maintain who are worthy to be called Americans.

HERBERT HOOVER:

Who may define liberty? It is far more than independence of a nation. It is not a catalog of political "rights." Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions, and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of men can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and to keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security. It holds he must be free to earn, spend, to save, to accumulate property that may give protection in old age and to loved ones.

* * * * * * *

The measure of success which the Government shall attain will depend upon the moral support which you, as citizens, extend. The duty of citizens to support the laws of the land is co-equal with the duty of their government to enforce the laws which exist. * * *

Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law. If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is openly to work for its repeal.

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The weakest link in the whole chain of protections to liberty is the vote.

Other protections can be provided by law and officials designated to look after them.

The first step in protection of representative government is the vote. But that act is voluntary. If people do not go to the polls, freedom will die at its roots.

It is always a mystery to me why every election there must be urging by a thousand voices: "Go to the polls." Either our people must be absent-minded or not concerned with their own safety. You may be sure that every fellow with an "ism" or a wild "do-not-like" will be there. If you want to neutralize him, then go and vote.

* * * * * * *

Our Constitution is not alone the working plan of a great Federation of States under representative government. There is imbedded in it also the vital principles of the American system of liberty. That system is based upon certain inalienable freedoms and protections which not even the government may infringe and which we call the Bill of Rights. It does not require a lawyer to interpret these provisions. They are as clear as the Ten Commandments. Among others, the freedom of worship, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of peaceable assembly, equality before the law, just trial for crime, freedom from unreasonable search, and security from being deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, are the principles which distinguish our civilization. Herein are the invisible sentinels which guard the door of every home from invasion of coercion, of intimidation and fear. Herein is the expression of the spirit of men who would be forever free.

These rights were no sudden discovery, no over-night inspiration. They were established by centuries of struggle in which men died fighting bitterly for their recognition * * * Our forefathers migrated to America that they might attain them more fully * * * Before the Constitution could be ratified patriotic men who feared a return to tyranny, whose chains had been thrown off only after years of toil and bloody war, insisted that these hard-won rights should be incorporated in black and white within the Constitution—and so came the American Bill of Rights * * *

These rights and protections of the Bill of Rights are safeguarded in the Constitution through a delicate balance and separation of powers in the framework of our government. That has been founded on the experience over centuries including our own day.

* * * * * * *

Liberty is safe only by a division of powers and upon local self-government . . . It has been no dead hand that has carried the living principles of liberty over these centuries. Without violation of these principles and their safeguards, we have amended the Constitution many times in the past century to meet the problems of growing civilization. The functions of government must be readjusted from time to time to restrain the strong and protect the weak. That is the preservation of liberty itself. * * *

Liberty comes alone and lives alone where the hard-won rights of men are held inalienable, where governments themselves may not infringe, where governments are indeed but the mechanisms to protect and sustain these principles. It was this concept for which America's sons have died on a hundred battlefields.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

Those priceless rights, guaranteed under the Constitution, have been the source of our happiness from our very beginnings as a nation. We have been accustomed to take them as a matter of course. Now, however, when we see other nations challenging those liberties, it behooves us to exercise that eternal vigilance which now, as always, is the price of liberty. No matter what comes we must preserve our national birthright; liberty of conscience and of education, of the press and of free assembly, and equal justice to all under the law.

As a free people we must defend our dearly won heritage of freedom against all assaults.

Democracy in many lands has failed for the time being to meet human needs. In the United States democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail and we propose not to let it fail.

We shall recognize that the Constitution is an enduring instrument fit for the governing of a far-flung population of more than one hundred and thirty million engaged in diverse and varied pursuits, even as it was fit for the governing of a small agrarian nation of less than four million.

* * * * * * *

The Constitution of the United States was a layman's document, not a lawyer's contract. *That* cannot be stressed too often. Madison, most responsible for it, was not a lawyer; nor was Washington or Franklin, whose sense of the give and take of life had kept the Convention together.

This great layman's document was a charter of general principles, completely different from the "whereases" and the "parties of the first part" and the fine print which lawyers put into leases and insurance policies and installment agreements.

When the Framers were dealing with what they rightly considered eternal verities, unchangeable by time and circumstance, they used specific language. In no uncertain terms, for instance, they forbade titles of nobility, the suspension of habeas corpus and the withdrawal of money from the Treasury except after appropriation by law. With almost equal definiteness, they detailed the Bill of Rights.

But when they considered the fundamental powers of the new national government they used generality, implication and statement of mere objectives, as intentional phrases which flexible statemanship of the future, within the Constitution, could adapt to time and circumstance. For instance, the framers used broad and general language capable of meeting evolution and change when they referred to commerce between the states, the taxing power and the general welfare. * * *

The present government of the United States has never taken away and never will take away any liberty from any minority, unless it be a minority which so abuses its liberty as to do positive and definite harm to its neigbors constituting the majority. But the government of the United States refuses to forget that the Bill of Rights was put into the Constitution not only to protect minorities against intolerance of majorities, but to protect majorities against the enthronement of minorities.

* * * * * * *

It required great patience between 1783 and 1788 to bring home the realizaion that thirteen separate colonies, become thirteen separate states, could not survive as thirteen separate nationalities. Leadership toward the thought of a United Nation had to be patient, and it was. Perserverance of leadership combined with patience has always won.

Once the Constitution was ratified it presented the outline of a form of government. To become a workable instrument of government its words needed men in every succeeding generation to administer it, as great as the men who wrote it.

And the greatest of them have been the men who have sought to make the Constitution workable in the face of the new problems and conditions that have faced the American Nation from year to year.

Yes, the greatest of them have not been those who have said—"It will not work; it cannot be done; it must be changed"—but rather those who have applied to the Constitution of the United States the spirit of "full faith and confidence" which has come down to us today from the Convention. * * *

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

There is no more precious possession today than United States citizenship. A nation is no stronger than its citizenry. With many problems facing us daily in this perplexing and trying era, it is vital that we have a unity of purpose—to the end that freedom, justice, and opportunity, good will, and happiness may be assured ourselves and peoples everywhere.

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The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, when they were written, were revolutionary documents. But they were revolutionary in a very unusual sense.

Many revolutions are simply a resort to force and violence to impose a new despotism upon the people. But these documents were for a very different purpose; their aim was to make despotism impossible. Both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution seek to make the rule of law and the concepts of justice the dominating factors in government. And to a large extent they have succeeded. * * *

These rights (The Bill of Rights) have become so well established in this country that we take them for granted. They are so much a part of our lives that they may seem dry and uninteresting. But the history of other countries in recent years has showed us how vital and important they are. Recent history has demonstrated that the unrestrained use of force by government is just as great a danger to human progress now as it was ages ago. It has demonstrated that unless citizens have rights against the government no one can be safe or secure. * * *

The Constitution sets up a system of checks and balances which may seem cumbersome to us at times, but which succeeds in preventing any part of the

Government from having absolute power. Under our Constitution, it is not only the citizens who are made to conform to the principles of justice but the Government itself. And the citizen has the power to enforce his rights against the Government. The rule of law is made supreme. * * *

* * * * * * *

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. In the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind for equality and freedom.

These ideals inspired the peoples of other lands and their practical fulfillment made the United States the hope of the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come to this country to escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions strong, they have helped build this democratic Nation and have constantly reinforced our devotion to the great ideals of liberty and equality. With those who preceded them, they have helped to fashion and strengthen our American faith. * * *

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:

We must unitedly and intelligently support the principles of Americanism. Effective support of principle—like success in battle—requires calm and clear judgment, courage, faith, fortitude. Our dedication to truth and freedom, at home and abroad, does not require—and cannot tolerate—fear, threat, hysteria and intimidation.

As we preach freedom to others so we should practice it among ourselves. Then, strong in our own integrity, we will be continuing the revolutionary march of the founding fathers. * * *

Truth can make men free! And where men are free to plan their lives, to govern themselves, to know the truth and to understand their fellow men, we believe that there also is the will to live at peace.

We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied: that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings, those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibility; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others, will learn charity, and that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

JOHN F. KENNEDY:

The fundamental truths upon which our constitutional structure of civil liberties is based are not very complicated or very subtle. On the contrary, our Founding Fathers held "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In short, although our civil liberties also serve important private purposes—above all they are considered essential to the republican form of government. Such a government required that the consent of the governed be given freely, thoughtfully, and intelligently. Without freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, equal protection of the laws, and other unalienable rights, men could not govern themselves intelligently.

The authors of the Constitution made clear their own belief that self-government on the one hand, and the truth on the other hand that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights are in fact two sides of the same coin. It is up to the American people, said Hamilton in the first Federalist Paper, "by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice——."

The basic question confronting us today is whether these fundamentals still hold true, whether we really believe in this idea of a republic, whether today the American people would ratify the Constitution and adopt the Bill of Rights—or whether the dangers of external attack and internal subversion, promoted by a foe more sinister and more powerful than any our Founding Fathers knew, have so altered our world and our beliefs as to make these fundamental truths no longer applicable. The Constitution, of course, is still in force—but it is a solemn contract made in the name of "We, the People"—and it is an agreement that should be renewed by each generation.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON:

To an American, then, loyalty is not automatic acceptance of authority but consecration to the principles of a free society.

It imposes restraints on the majority and on minorities alike. The majority must have the right to act, but its actions must follow the course of due process.

Minorities must retain the right to dissent, but should never confuse the right to be heard with the right to determine policy, should never assert the undemocratic and arrogant claim to speak for the society as a whole. * * *

The badge of American loyalty should be more than a uniform.

Enlightened loyalty requires that each citizen take the trouble to learn about, to discuss, to think through, the crucial issues of our time.

Enlightened loyalty demands a commitment by the citizen to the daily life of his society. He must constantly strive to bring American practice into accord with American precepts.

Enlightened loyalty obligates every individual to act and speak in behalf of his beliefs, so the world will not mistake the clamor of dissenting activists for the true voice of the nation .

* * * * * * *

The signing of the United States Constitution on September 17, 1787, gave this Nation an effective plan of self-government—designed to assure our people equality and justice under law, liberty, and unparalleled opportunity for all.

Today, one hundred and eighty years later, despite the increasing complexities of our world, the Constitution continues to guard fundamental rights.

The preservation of freedom, equality, and justice requires not only an intelligent exercise of our constitutional rights and privileges, but a firm recognition and support of the rights of others.

Our citizens should be ever mindful of the oppressive conditions and injustices which led to the drafting and signing of the Constitution, and of the sufferings and sacrifices which have made it a viable, effective charter of liberty down through the years. Against this background and in the spirit of the Founding Fathers, they must constantly renew and strengthen their devotion and adherence to constitutional precepts.

Our citizens—naturalized or native-born—must also seek to refresh and improve their knowledge of how our government operates under the Constitution and how they can participate in it. Only in this way can they assume the full responsibilities of citizenship and make our government more truly of, by, and for the people.

RICHARD M. NIXON:

This is a very special honor for me in my capacity as President of the United States and also, as an American citizen, to welcome you prior to the time that you will be sworn in tonight as citizens of the United States of America by Judge Robson.

As I see this group and as I speak to you, I would like to tell you how I, as one who was born an American citizen, feel about you who chose to become American citizens. * * *

One of the reasons this is a great country is that we have drawn to America over the years people from all the nations of the world, all the contitnents, all the races. We have a very diverse country, and we have a very interesting country and, therefore, a very strong country. We are very privileged that people who were not born in America, who are not Americans by the accident of birth, but people like yourselves who are Americans by choice from other countries, have come to this land.

I want you to know, too, that we believe, as we look at the history of America, that those who have come to this land have contributed enormously to the greatness that we know today in this Nation.

You can look back over the years. The Irish, the Poles, the Italians, the Chinese, and the Japanese—those of us who live on the West Coast know of their contribution—people from all the continents, Latin America, Africa, have come to the United States, and each time they have come they have strengthened us.

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The Constitution of the United States is often viewed as a revered document drawn in a far-off time by a group of exceedingly wise men we call the Founding Fathers. It is much more than that. The Constitution is a living set of principles, created during a hot Philadelphia summer in 1787 by men who were often passionate in their convictions and always jealous of the basic rights which had been secured by the American Revolution. This Constitution is not a museum-piece, but something as strong and as proud and as passionately alive today as were the men who created it almost 200 years ago.

As the foundation of our national life, the Constitution demands more than reverence. It demands the kind of active concern we show to anything we deeply care for. It demands our attention, our understanding of its character and of its fundamental place in our lives. This view of the Constitution will not allow us to pay honor to the idea unless we pay attention to the reality. It calls upon a citizen to not only be able to demand his rights, but also to know what they are.

United States citizenship, then, is also demanding. But the demands are more than matched by the benefits. Each citizen can help himself, his fellow citizens, and his nation if he takes some time out of his life to read and talk and think about the Constitution.

Chapter 2

Statements by

Chief Justices of the United States

JOHN JAY:

This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties.

Similar sentiments have hitherto prevailed among all orders and denominations of men among us. To all general purposes we have uniformly been one people; each individual citizen everywhere enjoying the same national rights, privileges, and protection.

JOHN MARSHALL:

When the government is drawn from the people and depends on the people for its continuance, oppressive measures will not be attempted, as they will certainly draw on their authors the resentment of those on whom they depend. On this government, thus depending on ourselves for its existence, I will rest my safety.

The Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme; they control the constitution and laws of the respective states and cannot be controlled by them.

ROGER BROOKE TANEY:

The object and end of all government is to promote the happiness and prosperity of the community by which it is established; and it can never be assumed that the government intended to diminish its power of accomplishing the end for which it was created.

MORRISON REMICH WAITE:

The equality of the rights of citizens is a principle of republicanism. Every republican government is in duty bound to protect all its citizens in the enjoyment of this principle, if within its power.

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER:

To be an American was to be part and parcel of American ideas, institutions, prosperity, and progress. It was to be like-minded with the patriotic leaders who have served the cause of their native or adopted land, from Washington to Lincoln. It was to be convinced of the virtues of republican government as the bulwark of the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which would ultimately transmute suffering through ignorance into happiness through light.

Charles Evans Hughes:

This flag means more than association and reward. It is the symbol of our national unity, our national endeavor, our national aspiration. It tells you of the struggle for independence, of union preserved, of liberty and union one and inseparable, of the sacrifices of brave men and women to whom the ideals and honor of this nation have been dearer than life.

It means America first; it means an undivided allegiance. It means that you cannot be saved by the valor and devotion of your ancestors; that to each generation comes its patriotic duty; and that upon your willingness to sacrifice and endure as those before you have sacrificed and endured rests the national hope.

It speaks of equal rights; of the inspiration of free institutions exemplified and vindicated; of liberty under law intelligently conceived and impartially administered. There is not a thread in it but scorns self-indulgence, weakness, and rapacity. It is eloquent of our common destiny.

Harlan Fiske Stone:

I am proud of our legal institutions and have unwavering faith that their future will be even greater than their past. In our legal system lies the assurance of protection of our lives, liberty, property, and happiness, and that of our children and children's children. No more sacred duty rests on the lawyer and layman alike than that of defending, maintaining, and improving it.

Fred M. Vinson:

We need, first of all, to reaffirm our faith in the fundamental values upon which has been based all that is worthwhile in our society. We need to revitalize our conviction that that society is best which gives the greatest practical recognition to the dignity of individual man and which affords greatest opportunities for the development of the higher potentialities of all men. We need to develop the same high sense of personal responsibility which led the early American statesman, George Mason, to write: "The debts we owe our ancestors we should repay by handing down entire those sacred rights to which we ourselves were born." We need, finally, to devote our full intelligence and greatest efforts to the task of devising ways and means whereby those essential values can be given their most complete expression in a world of flux and change.

Earl Warren:

Through changing times and the increasing tempo of our existence, our Constitution has provided a living, flexible framework for the continued advancement of our ideals of government. Its influence has extended far beyond the boundaries of our own country. It has become a symbol for freedom-loving peoples everywhere. * * *

There are those among our newly naturalized citizens who have particular reason to be appreciative of American citizenship because they have come from lands where people have never known such freedoms. We who have grown to maturity enjoying freedom in the true American sense can draw a lesson from these people—a lesson that should make each and everyone of us more determined to protect the constitutional guarantee on which our freedom depends.

Chapter 3

Statements by

Naturalized Citizens

ANGELO PATRI, native land, Italy

I came to America many years ago. I came from a little village across the sea. I can still see it, the hills, the brook, the mill, the monastery. I remember the steamer and the ocean, water, wind, waves for days and days and the new, strange, far away country that was to be my home.

I remember finding my way to school, an American school. That was where my life in the new country began. I sat and listened and tried to learn. My teachers said I should. I heard the teachers talk of America, of the Declaration of Independence, of Patrick Henry, of Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Lincoln.

I thought of Washington, not as he was at Mount Vernon, but, as he was at Valley Forge, in his hut with the ragged soldiers of the war.

I thought of Lincoln as a boy in his log cabin, studying by the light of the fire.

"These are truly Americans," I said to myself, and I felt that all Americans were like them, and I made up my mind to hurry and be a man. I too wanted to belong. I too wanted to feel the strength and the great love of the children of Washington and Lincoln.

And it happened to me, as it did to thousands of foreign born, that after many years I was graduated from an American school and then from an American college. I became a teacher, an American teacher, in an American public school. I belonged. I felt the strength of children about me, and I was proud to be among them. In time I became a principal of an American public school. To it came, by and by, visitors from far and wide, from Asia, Africa, Australia, Europe, Canada, Mexico, South America. They came searching the spirit that had made America great. Each time they came they smiled as they said, "There is something here in the life of your children that makes one think of Washington and Lincoln," and my heart would throb—"My Country 'Tis of Thee I Sing."

My proudest boast is that I am a citizen of the United States of America, that I, like all of you, belong.

DR. WALTER DAMROSCH, native land, Germany

* * * Music is the one great international language, and if through music we can create a feeling of universal brotherhood, isn't this just another way to express the ideal of Democracy? And that's what being an American means. Here we do not stop to ask a man what his racial antecedents may be—German, French, Italian, Norwegian, English—He is still an American. And so, if a man has a soul for music and learns to love it culturally, his nationality will not matter.

JAMES J. DAVIS, native land, Wales

* * * America is my home, my country. Here I have found opportunity for self-improvement, inspiration for high attainment, courage to do the impossible. All that I am and have belongs to my country. I want to give her strength of arms, clearness of vision, warmth of heart, and the will to go on. The man without a country is a man without a destiny. The man who is true to his country understands the heartbeat of all men. This is our country. May we always cherish and honor, fortify and defend her, and forgetting our differences of the moment let us work together on the areas of our common obligations and unity. In the spirit of good will we shall stand united for victory.

Major ALEXANDER DE SEVERSKY, native land, U.S.S.R.

* * * The strength of our nation lies in its diversity of people; in the marvelous way that they have adjusted themselves one to another, into a perfect mosaic. That mosaic is cemented by mutual respect, mutual tolerance, a desire to recognize the virtues and talents of individuals without regard to their origins. But by the same token, the most vulnerable phase of American life is in that very mosaic. That is where we can be attacked—by driving a wedge between groups, by making artificial distinctions between first-generation and second-generation Americans, between native-born and naturalized. Those who raise such false issues are boring into the very foundations upon which our great nation is built.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. E. J. FLANAGAN, native country, Ireland

It is just as important to live for the American idea of freedom as to die for it on the field of battle where its perpetuity is challenged.

Americanism stands for a way of life, not for a way of thought only.

Bending the knee to the ideal of Americanism will avail us little unless we are willing also to put our hands to the job of being the kind of Americans it is our privilege and duty to be.

Prof. ALBERT EINSTEIN, native land, Germany

Making allowances for human imperfections, I do feel that in America the most valuable thing in life is possible, the development of the individual and his creative powers. There may be men who can live without political rights and without opportunity of free individual development. But I think that this is intolerable for most Americans. Here, for generations, men have never been under the humiliating necessity of unquestioning obedience. Here human dignity has been developed to such a point that it would be impossible for people to endure life under a system in which the individual is only a slave of the state and has no voice in his government and no decision on his own way of life.

ELISSA LANDI, native land, Austria

* * * I said to myself, what an amazing country. Everyone seems to take a real interest in everyone else. That, after all, is Democracy. One thing I'll never forget: When I went to get my final citizenship papers—it was a beauti-

ful experience—there were 400 of my co-applicants standing in line and later crowded together in a large room. One little old woman seemed very frightened, on the verge of tears. An official went over to her and patted her on the shoulder and said, "Now, now, mother—take it easy. Nothing to be scared about." And this was to be my country. Imagine a European official comforting an immigrant!

FELIX FRANKFURTER, native country, Austria

* * * I can express with very limited adequacy the passionate devotion to this land that possesses millions of our people, born, like myself, under other skies, for the privilege that this country has bestowed in allowing them to partake of its fellowship.

* * * The times in which we live are bringing to American life doers of great deeds and thinkers of great thoughts, and men and women undistinguished except as the sturdy foundation of every good society.

We should welcome them * * *. For they come not merely because persecution drives them; they come because the American tradition beckons them.

WILLIAM KNUDSEN, native land, Denmark

* * * Only Democracy gives a man the opportunity to make as much or as little of himself as he wishes. That's the difference in my mind between Democracy and Totalitarianism, the difference between centralization and decentralization, the State and the individual. My own mental picture of Democracy shows a country or a city, a community or a factory, a farm or a simple home where justice, care for the sick or weak, and the greatest good for all is obtained with the greatest amount of individual action possible. * * *

America is the most emotional country in the world! When people here are told about famines or disasters or war and destruction in other parts of the world, what happens? The children in the little villages start saving their pennies to help. The women in farmhouses and cabins and the homes of workers stop in the midst of their housework to knit socks. In what other country would you find people doing such things for strangers?

* * * Immigrant is just another name for pioneer. We all come here to find independence and self-expression as much as wealth. In the old days the Vikings went forth and sold the shield and sword and battle axe to the service of other men, and were loyal to the men who treated them fairly and squarely. America treats its people decently, protects their constitutional guarantees, gives them a chance to make a living and educate their children; all Americans, whether they're native or foreign-born, will treat America decently in turn. * * *

HENRY MORGENTHAU, SR., native land, Germany

* * * American civilization, as it now is, is an amalgam of all that is best in human thought. It is a combination of all the virtues of all the nations that have come to the United States. It is true that their vices also may be there, but the constant boiling and dissolution that goes on in the mixture of the cauldron in which these elements intermingle, cause them to melt first,

and solidify afterwards into a fine strong substance, a substance dominated by virtues, for in the boiling process, the dross is thrown off, the unassimilative matter is discarded, and that which is good and fine remains to strengthen the whole. * * *

PAUL MUNI, native land, Austria

* * * As long as the political machinery for change and improvement is in the hands of our citizens they have no cause to complain if through their own indifference or ignorance they fail to make use of it to help themselves and their neighbors. The trouble is too many people want to accept without contributing or participating. We need to get onto terms of intimacy with Democracy. It seems to me that some may forget that we are the Government in the United States.

MADAME SCHUMANN-HEINK, native land, Germany

* * * Blessed Land, America, gave us everything—opportunities, benefits, and, above all, Freedom of heart, mind and soul—she accepted us and trusted us to the fullest extent when we came as strangers to this land, and even in these troubled times—surely, my sons, surely this is a land worth fighting for!

IGOR SIKORSKY, native land, U.S.S.R.

* * * Thank God I am here, a free man, breathing free air. No man can order what I do! If I fail I try again! It takes a naturalized citizen from a less happy country to appreciate what freedom really means. He sees a new world about him, just like a man let out of jail!

* * * I have lived in other countries. I have seen the alternative, and I want my children and myself to live in this country which is still the land of freedom and opportunity, in which democracy is a real active principle and tradition, not just a name. * * *

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI, native land, Poland

The place of one's birth is an accident. I have often felt that the foreign-born Americans who, like myself, deliberately chose the country where we would live and do our life work are more than natives of the New World. The very act of transferring our loyalties and destiny to this country demands a faith in its way of life which few native-born Americans are ever called upon to feel.

* * * Music can overcome hatred and conflict, and bring the poor and rich, the unfortunate and the happy, and the people of all races together in one shared emotion of sympathy and compassion. Music speaks to humanity of the things they have in common, not of the theories or ambitions or ideas on which they disagree. Love, hope, despair, compassion, noble aspirations, sacrifice, happiness, sorrow—these are the subject matter of all great music, and these are the common emotions shared by all human beings alike. Why, the very synonym for Music is harmony! Greed, ambition, suspicion, intolerance, prejudice—these are discords and have no place in the world of Music. * * *

The names of my young players show that they have come from many backgrounds and birthplaces—Poland, Germany, Italy, Greece, Russia—and every one of them good, earnest, loyal Americans! An orchestra is one of the most democratic institutions possible. Everyone has his individual part, yet everyone works together for the whole. We do not ask where a player is born, only whether he is a competent musician. You will not find intolerance or racial prejudice among the members of a great orchestra, or I think among those who listen to great music. The more of these things we have in our national life, the more united we shall be as a nation. * * *

ROBERT F. WAGNER, native land, Germany

* * * Democracy, after all, means much more than going through the motions of popular government. It is an instrument to foster life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness by the people at large in their daily working lives. Men do not struggle to defend something they do not have and to which they cannot aspire. Armaments are essential, of course, to defend our land and our institutions against invasion by any combination of hostile powers. But my point is, democracy cannot be defended by armaments alone. * * *

Those born under a foreign rule with memories of another way of life do not take the privileges and freedoms of democracy lightly or for granted. They came here—they left their homes, families, familiar surroundings because they believed that democracy would really provide freedom and opportunity for them and their children. They think of freedom not merely as a word in a patriotic vocabulary but as something to cherish—to struggle for—to fight for and defend—and if need be, to die for! It is not often realized that one out of every three persons in our population today is foreign born or the child of a foreign-born parent. Only in a democracy has it been possible for those many races and creeds to live and work in peace, and contribute their full measure toward the common goal of national greatness. Only through renewed devotion to that democratic ideal, can we maintain the national unity which is so essential to the national defense.

Chapter 4

Statements on

Americanism and Freedom

THINGS THAT MAKE AMERICA GREAT

It is a government which holds that government is made for man and not man for the government, that government is the servant of the people and not the master.

It is a government in which the original and final authority resides in the people.

It is a government based upon the principle that its first duty is to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of the people.

It is a government of law and order, providing for liberty under the law.

It is a government which guarantees to all persons the civil liberties and rights accorded to any one person.

It is a government of officials chosen by the people—a government by representatives—a republic rather than a pure democracy.

It is a government in which office is not the special privilege of any hereditary class.

It is a government by the majority—a majority held in restraint by constitutional checks, in order that the rights of minorities may be safeguarded.

It is a government in which the minority has the right to criticize and agitate for peaceful change. It is one in which the minority may grow into the majority.

It is a government based upon the idea that the secret ballot is a better way than bullets to bring about changes. The way to correct the mistakes of one election is through ballots at succeeding elections.

It is a government which weighs all votes equally, through free and fair elections.

It is a government of limited powers, the people reserving the right to increase or decrease those powers.

It is a government of divided authority and responsibility—divided between the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary and between the national, State, and local governments.

It is a government fundamentally different in principle and operation from totalitarian and dictatorial governments. It is a government by debate and agreement rather than by arbitrary decree. It rests more on reason than on force.

It is a government concerned with the establishment of justice, the promotion of the general welfare, the right of private property, and the social provision for security, freedom, and opportunity for all.

It is a government which provides the means for its own modification and growth.

It is a government which, more than any other form, requires for its most effective operation the assumption by every citizen of his fair share of responsibility. Democracy requires individual morality, common sense, and courage in its citizens.

(From THIS AMERICA—OUR LAND, OUR PEOPLE, OUR FAITH, OUR DEFENSE. American Book Co. New York. 1942.)

THANK GOD, I'M AN AMERICAN!

All of us should turn our thoughts occasionally to that adventurous group of our ancestors who set aside a day each year for Thanksgiving. Anyone who has stood on the windswept coast at Plymouth where the hard black granite of New England yields as slowly to the hoe and the plow as it does to the restless beating of a tireless sea, can well wonder what the Pilgrims had to be thankful for. On the one side, it was only an arrow's flight to a wilderness filled with savages. On the other, it was three months' sailing to the comforts of civilization. There was hunger to the point of starvation. Yet the humble survivors of both knelt and fervently thanked God. For what? Not for well-filled cupboards and bursting granaries. But for the courage to face temporary adversity, for confidence in the future, for faith in ultimate achievement of the ideals that led them to the New World.

The remembrance of those ragged, hungry colonists devoutly expressing gratitude because their lives had been spared toward the achievement of a bright vision, ought to bring shame to the hearts of present day prophets of gloom. There is no doubt that many of us labor today under a yoke of hardship. There is unemployment and injustice and crime and intolerance and bitter disappointment and even hunger in America. The ravages of war abroad have shaken our hopes. Frustrated by these misfortunes some are ready to curse God and let the vision die. They clamor for a "new order," for a new migration to uncharted political shores—to start all over again toward human happiness and freedom under the guidance of ideals radically different from those which inspired our forefathers. Those who take such counsel of despair would do well to count those blessings already achieved by the American way, and, without relaxing efforts to wipe out the causes of misery and suffering which still oppress us, to hold fast to what has already been gained.

We have many real advantages for which to be thankful. I thank God I was not born into a caste system that places one human being either above or below any of his fellows. I inherited no aristocratic rank of duke or lord that entitles me to special privilege of any sort; nor was I doomed to serfdom or peasantry by the accident of birth. It was one of the first concepts of American government "that all men are created equal." There may be some in this country who have assumed special privilege, but their right to it may be challenged at any time by anybody.

I thank God for the American schools that made available to me a share in the intellectual and cultural heritage of mankind. Education has checked and will eventually defeat tyranny wherever it manifests itself in this land. Free schools are the only guarantee of a free people; they are the only means whereby every individual may prepare himself for whatever achievement and service he is capable. Adequate educational opportunity is now denied millions of youth, it is true, but a fair start in life for every child is an American ideal toward which we have been steadily moving for a century. All the forces of greed and special interest will not prevent the full attainment of this ideal.

I thank God for American freedom to earn a living in a job I myself selected. No social traditions dictated that I should follow the occupation of my father. No agency of the state told me where or at what I must labor. The option was wholly my own, and I was given abundant opportunity to prepare for the profession of my choice. All of us are aware of the fact that the machine, in combination with economic factors, prevents millions of workmen today from practicing vocations for which they have trained themselves. Yet who can doubt that the inventive genius which created the machine is able to adjust the earnings of human livelihood to its use? Who has reason to believe that the same genius cannot or will not perfect an economic system in which honest toil may win its share of a material abundance that exceeds anything the world has ever known?

I thank God for American rights—for the right to think; to speak; to write and to print what I think; for the right of peaceable assembly to discuss with my fellows the way out of difficulties which harass me as an individual or beset us collectively as a people; for the right to protest and to petition those in authority for the removal of grievances and of obstacles to the happiness and welfare of my family and my neighbors; for the right to subscribe to any creed in which I believe and to worship as seems to me most fitting. I am grateful for the right to uncover truth and to proclaim it, even at the discomfiture of intrenched privilege or in opposition to stoutly defended party doctrine. I am glad to have these rights guaranteed to me in the most sacred instrument of our government—the fundamental law of the land—so they cannot be taken from me by pretext or annulled at the will of some dictator. I count it one of the greatest of blessings that I can exercise these rights without fear of secret police, concentration camps, or exile from my country. I can rest assured that my every act is not under suspicion. There are no spies to tap my telephone wires, to see that my radio is not tuned to forbidden wave lengths, or that I read only the literature which has been approved and prescribed for me by those who consider themselves my betters.

I am proud to live in a land that recognizes no discrimination on account of race or color or political antecedents, and supports no pretense that a certain shade of hair or eyes betokens a superman before whom less favored individuals should bend the knee. I count it good fortune to live under a government that exists for me and my fellow citizens, where no one considers that my only reason for living is to serve a monster called a "totalitarian state."

I thank God that the Stars and Stripes is not a mere battle flag symbolizing military conquest over other nations, but that it signifies every kind of worthy achievement for which men strive. That bright banner unites us in common endeavor against misery and poverty, ignorance and vice, disease and suffering. Our nation's heroes include not only its great soldiers, but its great statesmen, its scientists and teachers, its artists and craftsmen, its poets and preachers and philosophers who have served humanity in its great crises, whether of bread or of the spirit. The millions of children in the nation's classrooms who turn their happy faces toward the flag every morning pledge allegiance to the law and order, to the personal integrity, and to the unselfish service of humanity for which that banner stands.

And so, I thank God I'm an American. All may not be right with America. There is still with us some of the social injustice and pestilence to the removal of which we dedicated ourselves as a young nation. But the fundamental human rights which are the essence of Americanism are still held sacred by our people and by our responsible leaders. We have all—and much more than the Pilgrim fathers expected to secure for their posterity in the New World. And as we memorialize their first Thanksgiving, so devoutly offered because they had escaped the religious bigotry and international jealousies of the Old World, every one of us can say with even more meaning and fervor than the Pilgrims said, "Thank God, I'm an American."

(THANK GOD, I'M AN AMERICAN. The American Citizens Handbook. 1941. Washington, D.C.)

WHAT I OWE TO AMERICA

I owe to her the most priceless gift that any nation can offer and that is opportunity.

* * * It may be that the foreign born, as in my own case, must hold on to some of the ideals and ideas of the land of his birth, it may be that he must develop and mould his character by overcoming the habits resulting from national shortcomings. But into the best that the foreign-born can retain, America can graft such a wealth of inspiration, so high a national idealism, so great an opportunity for the highest endeavor, as to make him the fortunate man of the earth today.

He can go where he will; no traditions hamper him; no limitations are set except those within himself. The larger the area he chooses in which to work, the larger the vision he demonstrates, the more eager the people are to give support to his undertakings if they are convinced that he has their best welfare as his goal. * * *

A man in America cannot complacently lean back upon victories won, as he can in the older European countries, and depend upon the glamour of the past to sustain him or the momentum of success to carry him. Probably the most alert public in the world, it requires of its leaders that they be alert. Its appetite for variety is insatiable, but its appreciation, when given, is full-handed and whole-hearted. The American public never holds back from the man to whom it gives; it never bestows in a niggardly way; it gives all or nothing.

What is not generally understood of the American people is their wonderful idealism. Nothing so completely surprises the foreign-born as the discovery of this trait in the American character. * * *

I do not claim that the American is always conscious of this idealism; often he is not. But let a great convulsion touching moral questions occur, and the result always shows how close to the surface is his idealism. And the fact that so frequently he puts over it a thick veneer of materialism does not affect its quality. The truest approach, the only approach in fact, to the

American character is, as Sir James Bryce has so well said, through its idealism.

It is this quality which gives the truest inspiration to the foreign-born in his endeavor to serve the people of his adopted country. He is mentally sluggish, indeed, who does not discover that America will make good with him if he makes good with her.

But he must play fair. It is essentially the straight game that the true American plays, and he insists that you shall play it, too. * * * In no other country in the world is the moral conception so clear and true as in America, and no people will give a larger and more permanent reward to the man whose effort for that public has its roots in honor and truth.

"The sky is the limit" to the foreign-born who comes to America endowed with honest endeavor, ceaseless industry, and the ability to carry through. In any honest endeavor, the way is wide open to the will to succeed. Every path beckons, every vista invites, every talent is called forth, and every efficient effort finds its due reward. In no land is the way so clear and so free.

* * * I wonder whether, after all, the foreign-born does not make in some sense a better American—whether he is not able to get a truer perspective; whether his is not the deeper desire to see America greater; whether he is not less content to let its faulty institutions be as they are; whether in seeing faults more clearly he does not make a more decided effort to have America reach those ideals or those fundamentals of his own land which he feels are in his nature, and the best of which he is anxious to graft into the character of his adopted land? * * *

(THE AMERICANIZATION OF EDWARD BOK. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1924)

IMMIGRANT AMERICA

I AM THE ENGLAND

In this man, this woman—
A bright star in the morning sun
To the millions of mine who crossed an ocean
And a half continent westward.
And I am content—
Yet, lest a star grow too dim,

Being far away, and the sun near,
These things I remind you—
I gave the nucleus of a race,
A language, and 800 years tradition
Into the keeping of an American wilderness—
And you speak my tongue still
And you keep my traditions
And the strong stock of me:
Pilgrims, planters, freebooters
Is in the heart of you.
And the stout men that sired you
Were Englishmen:
Adams, Hancock, Hale, Williams.

How shall you forget them?
Your rivers, mountains, States,
And your proudest cities wear English names,
And the rock at the core
Of your beloved democracy
Is the unbending will of English yeomen to be free
How shall you forget these things?

I AM THE GREAT HEART OF GERMANY
In the American West,
Whose blood numbers the fourth part
Of the American strain,
Who gave you exact sciences,
And taught precision to your minds;
Who gave the best part of her men of genius:
Mann, Reinhardt, Roebling.
And I am content.
Yet, lest the gifts of me be forgotten,
These things I remind you:
It was my Von Steuben who trained
Those ragged armies
That turned back imperial Britain
And made a nation beyond the Atlantic,
And brothers to him came quietly to the freed soil
And made it yield.
And I have given you Damrosch and Lehmann,
To sweeten your ears—
Steinmetz, Einstein
To enrich your laboratories.
And these are not a thousandth part.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE FRANCE
In these Americans,
A shaft of brilliant color
In the noon sun,
Mother of grace, mother of elegance.
How shall you forget me,
Whose foreign money, arms, soldiery,
The visionary Lafayette, and a hundred tall ships
Fought for your first cause?
I gave you polish and the infinite refinement
Of five hundred years' achievement in the arts,
And you accepted them: the opera,
Drama, high poetry, the memorial carved stone of St. Gaudens,
The rare quick genius of Audubon,
And the royal vision of Louis Sullivan
Who gave you an architecture of your own.
We are bound as strongly as the knit stones

In the "Liberty" that stands
In New York harbor.
Our armies have stood shoulder to shoulder,
And our men of peace, arm in arm.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE ITALY
In these Americas,
A whisper merely of mellow Rome
In the eager West.
Yet how shall you forget me?
Who gave you law and the procedure of law;
Who cradled Christ in the lean and bitter years
Of the beginnings;
Who brought the brilliance of Renaissance
To all the progenitors of America.
A man of mine planted the first banners
Of the white race on your shores
And another gave his name to half the world,
Columbus and Amerigo, and you honor them still—
Sons of me have built your roads,
Your tall buildings, dug your sewers and tunnels,
Rome has always been a builder.
And I gave you song, and singers to warm you,
Campanini, Da Ponte, Bertelatti—
How shall you forget these things?

I AM THE SLAV IN THESE AMERICAS
The Jugo-Slav, the Slovak,
The endlessly unbowed,
That gave the west continent
The proudest and the best of my
Broad backs and eager youth.
How shall you forget me
That gave Tesla, Pupin,
Into your sciences;
Dvorak into your own music,
And Hofmann and Stokowski.
Ask the coal you burn, who mined it,
The gasoline, what worker wrung it from the earth,
The bridge, what man bound its steel together—
And every third answer will be "a Slav."
I made you rugs to walk on,
And Slavic craftsmen fill your houses,
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE GREECE
A deep and antique voice
In the symphonic noise of America.

I am Hellas,
Inventor of democracy,
Mother of philosophy,
Source of your sources in music,
Poetry, sculpture, drama,
And the endless sciences of inquiring minds.
Who will gainsay me—
Who will not remember and acknowledge me?
Yet, even so, these things I remind you—
Feryada, the Greek, came westward
With De Soto and settled in the South,
And latterly I have sent:
Anagnos to your systems of education,
Callimahos to your rosters of musicians,
And Ladas to your interpreters of law.
How shall you pass them by?
The fertile places in California, Arizona, Oregon,
Attest me.
The sweets your children buy with pennies
And the vending of foods attest me.
I am endless Greece, the sage and the humble.
How shall you forget?

I AM THE DENMARK

In these Americas,
Half a million of me
Moved westward from the North Sea
And diffused over half a continent.
How shall I be forgotten?
The lush dairylands of Minnesota,
Illinois, Oregon, Wisconsin
Attest me.
The fields of the Dakotas, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado
Attest me.
I gave you the best of a strong
And patient race.
How shall I be forgotten?
I sent you Riis,
The slum clearer, reformer, the crusader;
Borglum the carver of mountains;
Hansen, Jensen, inventors for the soil.
I sent the ablest of my people,
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE FINLAND

In this America
The northernmost of the north countries
An echo of the crackle of ice underfoot,
A memory of stern living and a frugal people

How shall you forget me,
The payer-of-debts?
The Nation's lumber yards justify me,
The iron mines of Minnesota,
The farm lands by the northern border
Attest me.
I gave Sibelius to the world,
And Saarinin to America.
I sent you the tallest of my sons
And the tallest of my daughters.
You shall not forget me.

I AM THE HOLLAND
In these new lands,
The clean dwelling Dutch
Who sheltered your unbending Puritans
In their years of indecision;
Who built houses of stone in Manhattan
Before York had a namesake
On the new continent;
Who first made free the learning in books,
And who taught you the art of fair municipal
Governing.
How shall you forget Knickerbocker, New England.
The ceaseless curiosity of Hudson,
The paternal genius of Washington?
The annals of your commerce attest me;
The stock of your proudest families attests me.
So much I have given you:
Bok to your journalists,
Goethals to your lists of builders,
Gompers to your workers.
And you have of them a tradition of writing,
A great canal, and the richest laborers in the world.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE STRAIN OF SWITZERLAND
In America.
How shall you overlook me,
The host of nations,
Pleader of peace,
Symbol of humanity in an ambitious world,
Protector of the genius of your revered Wilson
I sent Gallatin to fight for your liberty,
And afterward skilled artisans,
Weavers, jewelers, workers with metals
To grace your infant culture.
You accepted them and were pleased

And I am content that it is so.
Yet, lest a peace loving nation
For its very quietness be forgotten,
These things I remind you—
A myriad of the best of my peoples
Have crossed an ocean westward,
And they were not driven, but came freely
Bringing their passion for toleration,
And their patient industry.
The annals of your merchandising attest me,
The graces of your craft attest me,
The history of the excellence of my profound Christianity
Attests me.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE MEXICO

In these Americas,
A breath of happy music,
A rioting of colors in the desert places;
I sent you a simple and straightforward people,
Vaqueros, farmers, laborers,
And they were humble, but not servile.
The herds of cattle, the green fields, the groves
Of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada
Attest them;
The place names of your whole Southwest,
The flat houses, the speech, and the ornament of
The dry country
Attest them;
I sent artisans to work silver and leather for you,
And potters, weavers, basket makers, glassblowers—
How shall you forget them?
The works of their hands are in your homes, shops,
And public places.
Of me you have Covarubbias, Rivera, Orozco,
The foremost of my painters,
And Chavez and Guizar, the best of my musicians.
And my songs, the gay peasant lyrics,
You who dance them and sing them in all your cafes?
Is there one of you insensible
To the loveliness of my women and the music of
Their names?
How shall you forget these things?

I AM CANADA

Whose dominions cover the Americas northward,
The good neighbor that builds no walls.
I am the Canada
Of those Bretons and Bristol seamen

Whose sons sent carvels southward
Into New England, Virginia, the Carolinas,
Whose river boats opened the Mississippi,
The Great Lakes, and the tangled rivers of Ohio.
I am the Canadian polity that bulwarks
Your American democracy.
You shall not forget me.
The brother that is present always
Against your north borders.
And I have sent you men and women
Whose names are written in your book,
Newsprints, and deep in your memories—
Pickford, Huston, Shearer, to amuse you—
Carmen to your annals of medicine
Stefansson to your annals of exploration
Eaton to grace your arts.
The useful Canadian timbers in the houses
Of Wisconsin, Michigan, Maine, Ohio, New York
Attest me.
The useful produce of New England's mills
Attest me.
You will not forget me.

I AM THE SWEDEN

In these Americas,
A stream of blue northern water
That stains a deep pool.
How shall you forget me?
The endless miles of yellow wheat
In Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska
Attest me.
The tall plumes of tasseling corn in
Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota
Attest me.
My peoples built stone houses
And broke the fields of the Carolinas
Before there were even dreams of a nation—
Oglethorpe, and the legendary Ericson,
I gave in the beginning;
And, in these days, the solitary Lindberg.
I have yielded you humble folk
To make fertile fields in the Dakotas,
Idaho, Oregon, Utah—
My blood reaches everywhere among you.
How shall you forget these things?

I AM THE COOL BREATH OF NORWAY

In the Americas,
A reminder of the cold mountains and the icy coast line,

A reminder of my people, farmers and land-lovers.
How shall you pass me by?
The farmlands of Minnesota, Washington, Oregon,
Attest me.
The dairy lands of Idaho, Montana, Wisconsin,
And the timberlands of the West Coast
Attest me.
The choir of St. Olaf's I gave you,
And Rolvaag to your men of letters,
Lie to your painters,
Steiniger to your sciences,
And Veblen to your governing.
How shall you overlook these men?
A million of mine have passed by Ellis Island
And accepted the obligations of American democracy,
And they were the best I had.
How shall you forget these things?

I AM OLD CHINA
In new America,
A memory of two thousand years of empire,
A memory of sages.
How shall you forget me,
The ultimate East?
I sent innumerable strong backs
Into the Americas to drive
A railroad eastward from the West Coast.
And I sent the proudest of my youth
To learn among you.
The fields of California, Oregon, Washington
Attest me.
I gave Chen to your chemistry of medicines,
Lue Gim Gong to your breeding of fruits.
I have been content to serve you.
I have instructed you in philosophy,
You will not forget China.

(A narrative poem by the Utah Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, called "Immigrant America.")

WHAT AMERICA EXPECTS

Out of her abundant resources, out of her profound belief in the worth and dignity of every man, America offers you much. She offers freedom and opportunity, and a full share in all the rights and privileges of self-government. To every citizen she extends the assurance that if he wills it, if he has the courage, the enterprise and the faith, then both materially and spiritually his life can be gloriously fulfilled....

What does America ask in return:

America expects Personal Character. America is not a separate entity, apart and distinct from its people. America is the people. America is All-of-Us, incorporated. Therefore, whether America is strong or weak, virtuous or mean, valiant or faltering, depends upon the character of the citizens who compose it. As our collective lives are lived, so is the life of the nation molded. Nothing, then, is worthy of a citizen that is not worthy of America.

America expects a Sense of Values. It expects you to value duty above privileges; to value truth above mere phrases; to value wisdom above cleverness; to value quality above quantity; to value tolerance above any racial or religious prejudice. In every way it expects you to value spirit over matter.

America expects Unity. It expects you to think and act in terms of the whole nation, and not of any one state or section; of the whole people and not of groups or creeds or classes. It expects you to know that America is greater than any of its parts, and that the flag is the emblem of our unity as well as of our glory.

America expects Knowledge—knowledge of our history, knowledge of our literature, knowledge of our ideals. And it expects you to realize that no one can gain this knowledge thoroughly, no one can call himself a real American, unless he speaks and reads and thinks in the language of Americans—which is English. It expects you to learn our language thoroughly, and to value it above all others.

America expects Faith—faith in its form of government and faith in your own capacity to be part of that government. When America gives you the vote it expects you to use it as a self-reliant American. The so-called "Irish-American" vote, "German-American" vote, "Italian-American" vote, or other hyphenated votes, are not American votes at all. They are alien votes. Whatever his birthplace, the candidate who appeals for votes on such a basis is no true citizen. And whatever his origin, the candidate who seeks to weaken or tear down the American form of government is no true citizen. America believes that the right to vote is the right to rule, and expects you use that power wisely, confidently, loyally, and well. Today, especially, liberty means responsibility.

America expects Effort. In America the key to opportunity bears the label, "work." The men and women who wrested homes and farms from the wilderness, the millions who have here achieved new and successful lives, all turned this key with the diligent labor of hands and minds. And today whether he works in mine or factory or field, in business or in the arts, every citizen stands at the door of opportunity with the same unfailing key in hand. No true American accepts the despairing creed that government "owes him a living." His pride is in his own strength and courage; in his will to serve family, community and nation. * * *

And, above all, America expects Patriotism. Patriotism in word and thought and deed. It expects you to so live that America will be a better place because you are a part of it. It expects you to put into practice all that you have learned by studying the Constitution and the laws and the principles of this country. It expects you to attest in your every activity an unswerving devotion to America—the America to which you have sworn allegiance, the America in whose service you are proud to live, the America in whose defense you are willing to die; America, the hope of humanity.

(From TODAY WE ARE AMERICANS ALL. Copyright. 1942.)

OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE

It is fitting that on this important occasion I should briefly sketch for you some of your blessings and privileges. It is even more important that I should remind you of the obligations which you must now assume along with these blessings and privileges. * * *

Let us examine, first of all, our national heritage.

We are heaven-blessed to live in America. It is the richest and most beautiful continent in the world. Here nature has lavished its most bounteous gifts. We have great oceans, sun-bathed beaches, majestic mountains, mighty rivers, placid lakes, boundless forests, fertile plains, rolling prairies, and an ideal climate.

Upon this land of plenty we have erected more prosperous cities than can be found anywhere else. Our towering skyscrapers, our industrial centers, and our efficient methods of mass production amaze all other peoples. We have more miles of railroads, more paved highways, more automobiles, more radios, more movies, more fine schools, more hospitals, more commercial and private airplanes, more newspapers, magazines, libraries, and more gold than any other country in the world. Our homes are the most modern of all.

The United States contains only 6 percent of the world's area, and 7 percent of its population, yet it consumes normally 48 percent of the world's coffee, 53 percent of its tin, 56 percent of its rubber, 21 percent of its sugar, 72 percent of its silk, 36 percent of its coal, 42 percent of its pig iron, 47 percent of its copper, and 69 percent of its crude petroleum, to mention just a few of our advantages.

Let us now examine our heritage of liberty and freedom. This is the heritage of our human rights, both economic and political.

Our economic rights include:

1. The right of the individual to seek the kind of gainful employment he chooses. No authority, or custom equivalent to authority, can dictate any American's choice of a vocation, though of course circumstances may determine it.

2. The right of the individual to sell the products of his work, in goods or services, or any of his lawful possessions, to anyone at any time. This means a free exchange of goods and services.

3. The right of the individual to use the proceeds of such sales as he sees fit—to save, to invest, to spend, or to give away—according to his own preferences and according to laws governing such transactions. This carries out the principle of free exchange.

4. The right of the individual to own private property and to enjoy the use of it so long as such use does not interfere with the right of another to a like use of his own property.

These rights are not recognized in all countries. They are recognized in countries we think of as constitutional democracies. The freedom of this individual to work in an occupation where he can do something worthwhile, to accumulate something from the proceeds of his work, and to enjoy the fruits of his accomplishments is essential, it is felt in such countries, to the common welfare and to human progress.

Americans do not wish to see such rights restricted for any individual by any government beyond the requirement to preserve them for other individuals, nor do Americans approve restrictions by any private group, whether corporation or labor union, beyond the requirements to maintain the rights of individuals and the rights of other groups. And we not only expect the government we have set up to respect these rights but also depend on our government to protect them.

Our economic rights are close-woven with our political rights.

Our political rights include:

1. The right to constitutional government, by which the people have granted to, or withheld from, government certain specific powers stated in the Constitution of the United States, and these grants and prohibitions may be changed only by a process provided for in that document.
2. The right to choose and change the officers entrusted with the conduct of the government by orderly elections as provided in the Constitution; likewise the right to choose state and local government officers as provided in the constitution and laws of the states.
3. Freedom of religion.
4. Freedom of speech and of the press.
5. Freedom of peaceable assembly.
6. The right to petition—freedom to present opinions, including requests and protests, to any executive or legislative officers.
7. The right to be secure in his "person, house, papers, and effects" against unreasonable searches and seizures.
8. Protection against being "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and against the taking of his property for public use without just compensation.
9. The right, when accused of crime, whether in violation of the laws of the United States or of any State or locality, to have his accusers face him in open court; to have the charges first considered by a grand jury if serious offenses are charged, and then stated clearly and definitely in a formal indictment, if they are not dismissed, so that he will know of just what he is accused; the right to a speedy trial; the right not to be held meanwhile under excessive bail out of proportion to the seriousness of the charges; the right to a trial by a jury selected fairly and properly; the right not to be required to testify against himself; the right not to be tried again for the same offense after being once acquitted or convicted; the right not to be punished for acts lawful at the time they were committed but later made unlawful; the right not to be punished for criticizing the government unless such criticism extends to treason under the provisions of the Constitution.
10. Protection in the rights of citizenship, regardless of race, color, religion,

economic conditions, or political affiliations; and no State may "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

These rights * * * along with other constitutional restrictions of the powers of government, give the individual a wide range of freedom to improve his social and economic condition by his own agencies, and broad protection against oppression by either a majority or an organized minority anywhere holding political power.

The safety of the State is watchfulness in the citizen!

All your blessings, your rights, your freedom, your liberty, spring from the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. It is your sacred responsibility from now on to uphold and defend this Constitution and this Bill. That is why you have the ballot.

Our government in the future will be as good as you make it!

This great inheritance of democracy and self-government, which is now yours, is the product of untold sacrifices. For untold centuries men have fought and labored through long and tortuous years that the rights which we now enjoy might be ours. Under our system we intrust this precious heritage in the hands of the people themselves.

* * * You have become a sovereign citizen. You are the source of the authority of our government. You have upon your shoulders the preservation of this great boon of freedom for which others have paid so dearly. If you do not appreciate the importance of this sovereign privilege, if you do not exercise it and exercise it wisely, it will be lost and the old long cycle of confusion and suffering will be once more ahead. * * *

(From suggested address for American Legion speakers on Citizenship Recognition Day, May 18, 1941.)

IMMIGRANT GIFTS TO AMERICAN LIFE

America is a land of but one people, gathered from many countries. Some came for love of money and some for love of freedom. Whatever the lure that brought us, each has his gift. Irish lad and Scot, Englishman and Dutch, Italian, Greek, and French, Spaniard, Slav, Teuton, Norse, Negro—all have come bearing gifts and have laid them on the altar of America.

All brought their music—dirge and dance and wassail song, proud march and religious chant. All brought music and their instruments for the making of music, those many children of the harp and lute.

All brought their poetry, winged tales of man's many passions, folksongs and psalm, ballads of heroes and tunes of the sea, lilting scraps caught from the sky and field, or mighty dramas that tell of primal struggles of the profoundest meaning. All brought poetry.

All brought art, fancies of the mind, woven in wood or wool, silk, stone or metal—rugs and baskets, gates of fine design and modeled gardens, houses and walls, pillars, roofs, windows, statues and painting—all brought their art and handcraft.

Then, too, each brought some homely thing, some touch of the familiar home field or forest, kitchen or dress—a favorite tree or fruit, an accustomed flower, a style in cookery or in costume—each brought some homelike familiar thing.

And all brought hands with which to work.

And all brought minds that could conceive.

And all brought hearts filled with home—stout hearts to drive live minds—live minds to direct willing hands. * * *

These were the gifts they brought.

At the Altar of America we have sworn ourselves to a single loyalty. We have bound ourselves to sacrifice and struggle, to plan and to work for this land. We have given that we may gain, we have surrendered that we may have victory. We have taken an oath that the world shall have a chance to know how much of good may be gathered from all countries and how solid in its strength, how wise, how fertile in its yield, how lasting and sure is the life of a people who are one.

Franklin K. Lane, Former Secretary of the Interior.

AMERICANS ALL

It is the essence of Americanism that there be no outside interference with the due and orderly process of our courts. Take away from our courts the power to repudiate all such interference and to make their mandates obeyed, and justice will fall to the low level it has in some Oriental countries—and become a whim in the hands of the powerful or vicious, and our government of laws would become an illusion.

Americanization is not a mechanical process. We cannot impart the American spirit to others unless we exemplify it ourselves in our actions. The real American is he who lives up to the spirit of all that is great and noble in Americanism.

The great need of our political and social life is character, social idealism and social mindedness. The help of every loyal American is needed to overcome the bad tendencies which undermine the spirit of true Americanism. It is also needed to foster the sense of social obligation which threatens to fall into discard. We need more active participation upon the part of our citizenry in our political life, by regular voting. We need more active participation of the citizen in the administration of justice.

Among the chief unwritten characteristics of Americanism, is the spirit of fair play. This spirit expresses itself in the desire to give to every one his due—to treat a person according to his worth, no matter what his ancestry—no matter what his racial antecedents.

Aside from historical considerations, tolerance is "the mark of an enlightened society, as it is the mark of an enlightened person." It is also the wisest social policy.

Intolerance breeds disunion, and enthrones prejudice and ignorance. The times we are going through call for tolerance more than ever.

Out of the interchange of ideas—which is not possible unless diversity is tolerated—will come light and deliverance for suffering humanity, here and elsewhere.

Upon the foundation of tolerance which has made America great, let the future be builded. Standing upon it, as a solid rock, let us say to those who would undermine it by prejudice. "You shall not pass." But each of us must not only teach but live this spirit. Some years ago I sought to express "the spirit of America" in a statement entitled "My American Credo." It reads:

> I believe in America and in the spirit of America.
>
> I believe in the flowers of this spirit, the high ideals which express it, and above all, the spirit of fair play, which is so closely woven into the fabric of American lives.
>
> I believe in a Nation united by the common bond of belief in the great things which constitute and are of the essence of this spirit.

I am opposed to any practices, whether on the part of the native born or alien in our midst, which go counter to this spirit.

In this temper, do I repeat the poet's prayer:

> "Help us to father a Nation strong, in the comradeship of an equal birth, in the wealth of the richest blood of earth."

I believed then, as I do now, that our Americanism may well be judged by the way in which we, whether native born or naturalized, exemplify this spirit in our lives and relationship to our fellowmen.

Leon R. Yankwich, Senior Judge, United States District Court, Los Angeles, Calif.

THE CODE OF THE GOOD AMERICAN

Citizens who are good Americans try to become strong and useful, worthy of their nation, that our country may become ever greater and better. Therefore, they obey the laws of right living which the best Americans have always obeyed.

(1) *The Law of Self-control:*

The Good American Controls Himself. Those who best control themselves can best serve their country.

I will control my tongue, and will not allow it to speak mean, vulgar, or profane words.

I will control my temper, and will not get angry when people or things displease me.

I will control my thoughts, and will not allow a foolish wish to spoil a wise purpose.

I will control my actions.

I will not ridicule or defile the character of another; I will keep my self-respect, and help others to keep theirs.

(2) *The Law of Good Health:*

The Good American Tries to Gain and Keep Good Health.

The welfare of our country depends upon those who are physically fit for their daily work. Therefore:

I will try to take such food, sleep, and exercise as will keep me always in good health.

I will keep my clothes, my body, and my mind clean.

I will avoid those habits which would harm me, and will make and never break those habits which will help me.

I will protect the health of others, and guard their safety as well as my own.

I will grow strong.

(3) *The Law of Kindness:*

The Good American Is Kind. In America those who are different must live in the same communities. We are of many different sorts, but we are one great people. Every unkindness hurts the common life; every kindness helps. Therefore:

I will be kind in all my thoughts. I will bear no spites or grudges. I will never despise anybody.

I will be kind in all my speech. I will never gossip nor will I speak unkindly of anyone. Words may wound or heal.

I will be kind in my acts. I will not selfishly insist on having my own way. I will be polite: rude people are not good Americans. I will not make unnecessary trouble for those who work for me, or forget to be grateful. I will be careful of other people's things. I will do my best to prevent cruelty and will give help to those in need.

(4) *The Law of Sportsmanship:*

The Good American Plays Fair. Clean play increases and trains one's strength and courage, and helps one to be more useful to one's country. Sportsmanship helps one to be a gentleman, a lady. Therefore:

I will not cheat, nor will I play for keeps or for money. If I should not play fair, the loser would lose the fun of the game, the winner would lose his self-respect, and the game itself would become a mean and often cruel business.

I will treat my opponents with courtesy, and trust them if they deserve it. I will be friendly.

If I play in a group game, I will play not for my own glory, but for the success of my team and the fun of the game.

I will be a good loser or a generous winner.

And in my work as well as in my play, I will be sportsmanlike, fair, honorable.

(5) *The Law of Self-reliance:*

The Good American Is Self-reliant. Self-conceit is silly, but self-reliance is necessary to citizens who would be strong and useful.

I will gladly listen to the advice of older and wiser people; I will reverence the wishes of those who love and care for me, and who know life and me better than I. But I will develop independence and wisdom to think for myself, choose for myself, act for myself, according to what seems right and fair and wise.

I will not be afraid of being laughed at when I am right. I will not be afraid of doing right when the crowd does wrong.

When in danger, trouble, or pain, I will be brave. A coward does not make a good American.

(6) *The Law of Duty:*

The Good American Does His Duty. The shirker and the willing idler live upon others, and burden unfairly their fellow-citizens with work. They do not do their share for their country's good.

I will try to find out what my duty is as a good American, and my duty I will do, whether it is easy or hard. What it is my duty to do I can do.

(7) *The Law of Reliability:*

The Good American Is Reliable. Our country grows great and good as her citizens are able more fully to trust each other. Therefore:

I will be honest, in word and in act. I will not lie, sneak, or pretend.

I will not do wrong in the hope of not being found out. I cannot hide the truth from myself and cannot often hide it from others.

I will not take without permission what does not belong to me. A thief is a menace to me and others.

I will do promptly what I have promised to do. If I have made a foolish promise, I will at once confess my mistake, and I will try to make good any harm which my mistake may have caused. I will so speak and act that people will find it easier to trust each other.

(8) *The Law of Good Workmanship:*

The Good American Tries To Do the Right Thing in the Right Way. The welfare of our country depends upon those who have learned to do in the right way the work that makes civilization possible. Therefore:

I will get the best possible education, and learn all that I can as a preparation for the time when I am grown up and at my life work. I will invent and make things better if I can.

I will take real interest in work, and will not be satisfied to do slipshod, lazy, and merely passable work. I will form the habit of good work and keep alert; mistakes and blunders cause hardships, sometimes disaster, and spoil success.

I will make the right thing in the right way to give it value and beauty, even when no one else sees or praises me. But when I have done my best, I will not envy those who have done better, or have received larger reward. Envy spoils the work and the worker.

(9) *The Law of Teamwork:*

The Good American Works in Friendly Cooperation with Fellow-Workers. One alone could not build a city or a great railroad. One alone would find it hard to build a bridge. That I may have bread, people have made plows and threshers, have built mills and mined coal, made stoves and kept stores. As we learn better how to work together, the welfare of our country is advanced.

In whatever work I do with others, I will do my part and encourage others to do their part.

I will help to keep in order the things which we use in our work. When things are out of place, they are often in the way, and sometimes they are hard to find.

In all my work with others, I will be cheerful. Cheerlessness depresses all the workers and injures all the work.

When I have received money for my work, I will be neither a miser nor a spendthrift. I will save or spend as one of the friendly workers of America.

(10) *The Law of Loyalty:*

The Good American Is Loyal. If our America is to become ever greater and better, her citizens must be loyal, devotedly faithful, in every relation of life.

I will be loyal to my family. In loyalty I will gladly obey my parents or those who are in their place, and show them gratitude. I will do my best to help each member of my family to strength and usefulness.

I will be loyal to my school. In loyalty I will obey and help other pupils to obey those rules which further the good of all.

I will be loyal to my town, my state, my country. In loyalty I will respect and help others to respect their laws and their courts of justice.

I will be loyal to humanity and civilization. In loyalty I will do my best to help the friendly relations of our country with every other country, and to give to everyone in every land the best possible chance.

If I try simply to be loyal to my family, I may be disloyal to my school. If I try simply to be loyal to my school, I may be disloyal to my town, my state, and my country. If I try simply to be loyal to my town, state, and country, I may be disloyal to humanity. I will try above all things else to be loyal to humanity; then I shall surely be loyal to my country, my state, and my town, to my school and to my family. And this loyalty to humanity will keep me faithful to civilization.

He who obeys the law of loyalty obeys all of the other nine laws of the Good American.

(Revision of original Code awarded first prize in a national competition conducted by the Character Education Institution of Washington, D.C.)

BILL OF RIGHTS

To me freedom is a state of mind; it is a way of life. It is a concept, an idea. From one viewpoint, it is the individual on the one hand and all powers of government and the state and society on the other. From another viewpoint it is the preservation of property rights against the predatory demands of a multitude of forces. From still another viewpoint, in the context of the American scene, it is the finding of some means to prevent the complete absorption of state functions by an all powerful Federal Government. Freedom is the opposite of slavery, it is more precious than all the gold and all the jewels of the Indies. But it is not static; it is subject to the inexorable laws of growth and decay.

We are a free and independent people; we have in our Bill of Rights a precious heritage which we must at all costs preserve; and we can preserve it only by fighting for it, fighting for it intelligently, persistently and unselfishly.

Harold R. Medina, Senior Judge, United States Court of Appeals.

DEDICATION TO FREEDOM

There is no place in America for part-time patriots. If our Nation is to live, if we are to continue to enjoy the fruits of liberty, we can do no less than follow the example of the men who won that freedom for us. Freedom, while a heritage, must be rewon for each generation.

With complete selflessness and with blazing intensity of spirit, our forefathers dedicated their lives first to securing and then to maintaining freedom. They knew at first hand that life without freedom is intolerable. And so they dreamed of freedom, fought for freedom, lived for freedom, breathed it and spoke of it, prayerfully and without self-consciousness.

Benjamin Franklin could say simply and eloquently, "Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." And when the salute of cannon in celebration of the Fourth of July reached his ears, a dying John Adams could arouse himself long enough to murmur "Independence forever!"

Independence, freedom, liberty—are words that ring like exulting bells! Today we need such bells to be rung. This Nation is face to face with the gravest danger ever to confront it. The menace of Communism is no simple, forthright threat. It is a sinister and deadly conspiracy which can be conquered only by an alert informed citizenry dedicated to the preservation of the principles on which America was founded.

If our Nation is to retain its liberty in the future, now, as never before, its citizens must understand that the inescapable price of freedom is eternal vigilance. And eternal vigilance, with dedication to its cause, brings unity and strength in time of crisis.

May each citizen of the United States have intellect to know, and the faith to believe in, the great principles of individual freedom and self-government; the courage to assume his responsibilities and the diligence to do his duty "to protect, preserve and defend" the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of his own State.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

THE LAW

Throughout the long history of mankind, man has had to struggle to create a system of law and of government in which fundamental freedoms would be linked with the enforcement of justice. We know that we cannot live together without rules which tell us what is right and what is wrong, what is permitted and what is prohibited. We know that it is law which enables men to live together, that creates order out of chaos. We know that law is the glue that holds civilization together.

And, we know that if one man's rights are denied, the rights of all are endangered. In our country the courts have a most important role in safeguarding these rights.

The decisions of the courts, however much we might disagree with them, in the final analysis must be followed and respected. If we disagree with a court decision and, thereafter, irresponsibly assail the court and defy its rulings, we challenge the foundations of our society.

Robert F. Kennedy, as Attorney General of the United States.

I AM AMERICA

My birth certificate is the Declaration of Independence and I was born on July 4, 1776. I am a fabulous country of many things and many people. I am the United States of America.

I am over 180 million living souls and the ghost of millions who have courageously lived and died for me.

I am William Penn and Paul Revere. I stood on the Lexington green and fired the shot heard around the world. I am Washington, Jefferson, Hale, and Patrick Henry. Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown are a part of my heritage. I am John Paul Jones, Daniel Boone, the Green Mountain Boys and Davy Crockett. I am Generals Lee, Grant, and MacArthur. I am Abraham Lincoln and the Gettysburg Address.

I remember the Alamo, the *Lusitania*, Pearl Harbor, and Iwo Jima. When ever freedom called, I answered that call. I have left my heroic dead in the Argonne Forest, Flanders Field, on the rock of Corregidor, and on the cold bleak slopes of Korea.

I am the Golden Gate Bridge, the wheat-lands of Kansas, the farmlands of Idaho, and the fabulous forests of the Northwest. I am the Grand Canyon and Old Faithful. I am a small village in the hills of New England, an open pit copper mine in Montana and a farm in South Dakota.

My Capital, Washington, D.C., is like no other American city. It is completely free from my State government and there are no factories or commerce here. It has but one business and that is government.

From the top of the Washington Monument you can look north to the White House and to the east you see the Capitol. To the west is the long reflecting pool and the memorial to Lincoln. Inside is the famous statue of him by Daniel Chester French. His face is compassionate, sad, and strong.

Looking south, you see the Tidal Basin, the famous cherry trees, and the memorial to Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and our third President.

Across the Potomac River in Arlington, Va., in the huge national cemetery, is the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. All during the day and night, back and forth, paces an armed sentry in honor of those men who are known "but to God." There is no other memorial in my Capital which is quite so symbolic of our Republic as this one. There has always been the unknown Americans who have played a fundamental part in my progress, in addition to the famous men whose names have been known to all.

I am a Christian nation founded upon Christian principles. My people recognize God's power and authority and their responsibility to Him.

I am a nation that believes in the worth and dignity of the individual and his inability to solve his own problems without the help of God.

A sense of responsibility to God carries my people beyond the short-range view of what they can get for the moment. They consider the future benefits or damages as a result of their actions and conduct.

I am a government that is responsible to God and the people. Most of my organic documents of government—the Mayflower Compact of 1620; the Declaration of Independence of 1776; the Constitution of 1789—give recognition to God.

I am a nation of freedom-loving people. God created my citizens as free moral agents with the power to choose between right and wrong. Freedom is possible for those citizens who choose the right. Tyranny, suppression, and slavery is the lot for those who choose the wrong. William Penn, one of my great statesmen and patriots, summed it up accurately when he said: "If men will be governed by God, then they must be ruled by tyrants."

I am the front porch of a farmhouse in the Midwest. The front porch is associated with no other country. It is a place to sit and relax for a few moments before you finish the day's chores. It is a place to sit and read the paper or visit with your neighbors.

Political posters tacked on the country store near the crossroads down by the creek are a part of my heritage. The tiny country churches, roaring snows, howling winds, endless fields and crystal clear lakes are all a part of me.

I am big. I sprawl from the Atlantic to the Pacific, more than 3½ million square miles of throbbing private enterprise. Within my boundaries lies a wonderous country. I am a land of fertile fields, country mailboxes and winding country lane. I am remote quiet villages and large metropolitan cities that never sleep.

I am a republican form of government with the Constitution as my cornerstone. It is the best plan ever devised by man to assure freedom and to release the creative powers of everyone. Its guarantees of life, liberty and property have made possible the great American way of life.

You can look at me and see Patrick Henry ending his fiery speech before the Virginia Convention with these defiant words: "I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." You can see the colonists discussing their problems at a town meeting, the building of the Wilderness Road and Lewis and Clark crossing the Continental Divide. You can see the multicolored lights of Christmas and hear the strains of "Auld Lang Syne" as the old year passes.

Yes, I am the United States of America and these are the things that I am. I was conceived in freedom and, God willing, in freedom I will spend the rest of my days.

May I always possess the integrity, moral courage and strength to keep myself unshackled, to remain a stronghold of freedom and a beacon of hope to all the oppressed throughout the world.

This is my prayer—my goal—my wish.

May God be with me, always.

Clarence N. Shoemaker, Jr., School Principal. (From Congressional Record, March 4, 1965)

Chapter 5

Addresses to New Citizens

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE

ROBERT N. WILKIN, *Senior Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio*

The enthusiasm of naturalized citizens for citizenship, their gratitude for its rights and privileges, stand in marked contrast to the indifference of some people who acquired their citizenship by birth. Too often what is easily acquired is little valued.

This program to commemorate the adoption of our Constitution has allowed time for this ceremony in order that native citizens might be impressed by the fact that citizenship is anxiously sought by those who did not acquire it by merely being born here. As we rejoice with new citizens over their realization, we gain a deeper sense of gratitude for the gift of our forebears.

There probably never was a time when citizenship in our country was more appreciated or its rights more openly challenged in the world. Such appreciation today arises from the very fact that such rights are so challenged. In the countries from which many new citizens came, individual freedom has been utterly destroyed. Despotism and tyranny have again asserted themselves to an extent which a few years ago we would have thought impossible. We who still enjoy freedom and have faith in righteousness stand appalled that so many people can be drawn to the support of government which is so ruthless of private rights, so inconsiderate of moral principles, which make a strategy of terror, a science of cruelty, and an art of deception.

It is absolutely necessary for us to understand the issue before the world today, if we are to save our sacred rights and hand them on to those who succeed us. All that makes life worth while to free men is at stake. It is not mere strife between individual leaders or separate nations. It is a head-on collision between two different conceptions of social organization. The issue is despotism or democracy.

When we mention democracy we do not mean so much the form of government as an attitude toward life. And that attitude is primarily religious. The democratic way of life recognizes that something in man is divine; and therefore that man is sacred to man, and that all men are equal before the law. It recognizes that because man is a social being he must have government, but it believes, however, that the law which should govern is found not in the will of a dictator, but in the common reason and conscience of men.

Americanism is not based upon place, nor race, nor language, nor sect—it is a way of life, the democratic way. It cannot prevail against the organized force and propaganda that assail it unless those who enjoy its benefits have a burning enthusiasm for it, unless those who believe in it are willing to be evangels, patriots, and, if necessary, martyrs. Such patriotism will unify our diverse elements and enable us to present a united front to the regimented forces that challenge us. We must discard our apathy and cynicism. The inspiration of our forebearers for liberty and freedom must move us as it moved them.

To acquire your citizenship you have taken an oath of allegiance. You have sworn that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, both foreign and domestic. What you as new citizens have promised to do, it is certainly incumbent upon all citizens to do. New citizens would surely not be expected to do more than those citizens who have lived longer in the noble tradition of our Constitution. For our own benefit and the benefit of this Nation and all the world there is nothing better that we can do. In defending our Constitution, we defend the democratic way of life.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

F. LYMAN WINDOLPH, *member of the Lancaster County Bar,* Lancaster, Pa.

As the representative for the time being of the Bench and Bar of Lancaster County, I am permitted to speak to those of you who are about to take the oath of allegiance as citizens of the United States.

In one sense you are about to experience an extraordinary, almost a magic, transformation. You came into this court room a few miuntes ago as subjects of various sovereignties—German, Italian, English, Russian, Polish. Words will be spoken and a ceremony will be performed. When it is over you will walk out of the court room as American citizens, released from your old ties and bound by a new tie not only to one another but also to those other Americans with whom you have lived and worked for at least 5 years. In somewhat the same way a man and a woman come to be married. Words are spoken, a ceremony is performed, and the whole lives of the man and woman are changed. There is a new loyalty, a new obligation, and a new hope.

In other sense the experience of becoming an American, instead of being extraordinary, is so ordinary as to be almost commonplace. Our fathers did not seek to keep America for themselves. They did not rest their hopes for the future on a single generation or a single nationality. On the contrary, they believed that ordinary people of any nationality, if they can agree about fundamentals—about the things that matter most—and are willing to fight, if necessary, in order to preserve them, are wise enough to make self-government practicable and strong enough to make self-government safe. Therefore, our laws have always provided for the naturalization of aliens, and every generation of Americans has been enriched by persons like yourselves who have come to this country from abroad, eager to share in the blessings which America has to bestow on the terms on which she is willing to bestow them. As it was given to our fathers in old times and as our fathers have given to us, so we give.

The oath which will be administered to you has two parts. In the first part you will absolutely and entirely renounce allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty. There are potentates and sovereigns in the world today who contend that these words are meaningless—that it is impossible to renounce what is called natural allegiance—

the allegiance which a subject owes to the sovereignty under which he was born—and that, no matter what words may be used, your natural allegiance will continue. This is an old doctrine and we Americans have always regarded it as false. The oath means what it says. When you have taken it you will owe all your allegiance to the United States. The natural allegiance by which you have been hitherto bound will be destroyed as completely as if it had never existed. If you have any other intention, I warn you now that you stand on the verge of perjury and in the shadow of treason.

In the second part of the oath you will swear to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Our fathers came to America from many lands. Some of them were hungry. Perhaps some of you have been hungry. Some of them did not have enough clothing to cover them and were cold. Perhaps some of you have been cold. Some of them had been threatened and oppressed in the old world. Perhaps some of you have been threatened and oppressed. Our fathers wanted many things—the opportunity to work and acquire property, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, freedom of speech, freedom from imprisonment without a fair trial. These wants were afterwards expressed in the Declaration of Independence in the statements that "all men * * * are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; and that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence are moral rights. Our fathers wanted to make them political rights as well. Therefore, they built the politics of the Constitution of the United States on the morals of the Declaration of Independence.

The Constitution is a statement of the fundamental points about which all Americans are agreed. As citizens of the United States you will have the right to vote. This is an important privilege and you ought to exercise it whenever you have the opportunity. Nevertheless, we only vote about what are really minor matters—for instance, about who is to be President of the United States or Governor of Pennsylvania or Mayor of Lancaster. When the election is over and the votes have been counted, the successful candidate is not a democratic president or a republican governor or mayor. He is our president, our governor or our mayor. But we never vote about the questions that are truly fundamental. We never vote, for instance, about whether Gentiles are to persecute Jews or Jews are to persecute Gentiles, or about whether accused persons are to be tried promptly and openly or are to be locked up in jails and concentration camps without any trial at all. All of these questions were settled and taken for granted at the time the Constitution was adopted. If we thought that you did not agree with us about the way in which they were settled—if we thought that you did not love and admire our Constitution as we do—we would not want you as fellow citizens. Because we are persuaded that you do agree with us—because we believe that you will keep your oath to support and defend the Constitution—we are about to admit you to the rights and duties of citizenship.

Do not be deceived. Every right begets a corresponding duty. We promise you the pursuit of happiness. We do not promise you happiness. We promise you equality of opportunity. We do not promise you riches. We promise you freedom of speech. We do not promise you wisdom. We promise you liberty. We do not promise you peace.

And now, my friends, on what I hope is, for you at least, a memorable occasion, I welcome you among us as American citizens. Each morning when our court crier opens court he ends his proclamation with these words: "God save the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." It is a noble prayer, but I suggest to you a more inclusive one. God save our country—God save the United States of America.

PEOPLE IN A FREE GOVERNMENT

CARL A. HATCH, *Former Chief Judge, United States District Court,* Albuquerque, New Mexico

By having fulfilled the requirements of law, and having taken the oath of allegiance, you are now citizens of the United States of America. I sometimes fear that many of our people do not understand nor appreciate the significance of that word "citizen". I shall not dwell on the meaning of the word except to point out that there is a decided difference between it and another word which refers to inhabitants of a country ruled by a dictator or a despot. The word citizen is only correctly applied to persons residing in a country where the people are free, where they are a part of government. Persons who live in a country ruled by a monarch are subjects; they are not free; they are not a part of government; they are not citizens. They are subjects and nothing more.

While I am devotedly attached to the word citizen there is another word to which I am equally attached. This word is used in connection with the principles and theories of our government. The word to which I now refer is the simple word "people". The word people includes all citizens, be they of high or low estate. In its true sense it implies the equality of all. The "people" are recognized in that statement of the philosophy of our government which we call the Declaration of Independence. Its first enunciation of a principle declares that "all men" (people) are created equal, endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In the Constitution, that document which guarantees equality and liberty, the first words are "We, the people, do ordain and establish this Constitution." Thus we recognize, declare and guarantee the equality of all people and that the source of all power in this country, to which you today have sworn allegiance, rests in the people of whom you are now a part. As such you are from this moment a part of government itself. If you ever were, you are no longer subjects—you are citizens.

The abstract principles of freedom and liberty, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution, are fine and noble statements of the rights of the people. It is wonderful to know that "We, the people," are the sovereign rulers and that we are not subjects of any monarch. Yet fine as are these sentiments they are not self-executing. Neither are they permanent and everlasting. They require life and vitality. They must also be constantly and forever safeguarded against conditions and influences which might destroy them.

This free government to which we are all so attached did not occur by accident. The right to be free and to govern ourselves was won by long and bitter hardship, suffering and bloodshed by our forefathers. It was so won and established by the people. It will continue to survive, and we, the people, will remain free only so long as we, the people, continue the same fortitude in maintaining the principles of free government that was displayed by our forefathers in winning it.

At the close of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, then an old but very wise man declared his faith in the new government being established, in a memorable address. I shall not attempt to quote his exact words, although they would be worth quoting and memorizing. In substance Dr. Franklin said that with all the apparent faults he believed the new government would do. It would continue for a period of time, he said, until it fell and despotism took the place of free government, as had occurred so many times before in the history of men; that time would come, he predicted, only when the people of the republic became so corrupt they were no longer worthy or fit to govern themselves, and because of their own corruption they would require government by a despot.

Often I have asked myself the question "could the words of Benjamin Franklin be true; can an entire people become so corrupt they are unworthy and unfit to govern themselves?" While I do not want to be gloomy on this happy occasion, and I am not gloomy, nevertheless frankness compels me to say that I believe it is possible for people to so corrupt themselves they are no longer fit or worthy of self-government.

We think of corruption among officials of Government in the State and in the Nation. Corruption has existed in such places. Judges have sold their decisions. I regret to say Members of the State Legislatures and of the National Congress have betrayed the trust imposed in them by using their offices for personal and partisan gain. In the Executive branch of Government there have been many instances of officials prostituting their high and responsible positions for their own benefit. Bad as are such practices, and they are evil, there is another form of corruption among our representatives which may even be a greater danger to the institutions of free government than the instances I have mentioned. When our officials, our judges, legislators or executives forget that they are only representatives and agents of the people, and seek to rule, dictate and dominate the people themselves, that is corruption, corruption of a very grave and dangerous type. The usurpation of power is a deadly thing which could destroy liberty. The acquiescence of the people in usurpation of power by their representatives or servants is itself a form of corruption in the people.

But not alone in official ranks does corruption exist. When great associations of industry, business and similar interests forget the welfare of their country and of the people, and use their combined power and wealth to obtain selfish gains and benefits for themselves and their associates to which they are not entitled, that is a form of corruption. When strong and powerful labor organizations permit their members to be ruled and governed by gangsters and hoodlums to obtain what appear to be benefits by unlawful means and methods, such as violence, that is corruption. When the people generally forget that they are the Government, and look upon Government as some far-distant and remote organization of some type that can hand down special privileges, benefits and gratuities, the corroding influence of corruption is at work among the people.

Such corrupting influences are not confined to the groups I have mentioned. They can prevail in almost every class of citizens. When writers, broadcasters, editors and others who wield powerful and strong influences in directing the thought of the people, use their power selfishly and without regard to the welfare of their country and their people, they also are corrupt. When politicians and demagogues mislead the people by unwise and untrue declarations, by making promises which they cannot fulfill and which should not be fulfilled, they too are corrupt. When lawyers and doctors forget that they are professional men and use their professional skill and knowledge unethically to gain fame or wealth, they also are corrupt. Even ministers of the gospel are not immune when they stand in their pulpits and temples, forgetting their high calling and their true spiritual mission, and seek prosperity and fame by entertaining eloquence which pleases but does not convert, they are also being corrupt.

Corrupting influences, such as I have mentioned and all of which have existed in some degree have not as yet menaced our form of Government. We, the people, have not yet become corrupted to the extent that we are unworthy of self-government.

Yet, and notwithstanding this, I must say that there is in our modern day and time a tendency or rather many tendencies which point toward the eventual corruption of all the people.

This does not discourage me for I have great faith in the people. Let them once become aware of the danger to their institutions of freedom and liberty, they, the people, will meet whatever occasion arises with that same degree of courage and fortitude that our fathers demonstrated in the formation of our Government. Of that I have no doubt.

In our own lifetime we have seen our sons lay their brave young lives on the altar of freedom and liberty in order that the sons of all men could remain free.

There is a danger of corruption entering into our people and destroying the institution of liberty; that danger lies in our lassitude, our lethargy, our forgetfulness that we must forever, in our daily lives and conduct, be mindful that liberty is a precious thing which must be constantly guarded and protected lest it be lost. It is trite to say but it is nevertheless true "that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty".

I conclude with this thought, that the preservation of our Government depends upon us, each of us as individual citizens; the responsibility is ours. We must be vigilant to the end, and I quote, I think my favorite of all declarations and statements, "that Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

WILLIAM C. MATHES, *Former Judge, United States District Court*, Los Angeles, California

It is now my privilege to be the very first to congratulate each of you upon becoming a citizen of the United States of America. You have just had conferred upon you the most valuable, the most priceless civil right known on earth today.

And why is that so? Because, under our system in America, everyone who lives under the protection of that flag enjoys a wider, a fuller individual freedom and individual liberty than anywhere else on earth today.

This is true, not because Americans are better people, not because Americans love freedom more than other people. It is true because we have the good fortune to live under a system which our forefathers devised, a system of government, a system of justice, which permits that wider and fuller freedom to the individual.

And it was no accident. As you know from your study of the history of this country, the founders and settlers of this country were intensely religious people. They spent a great deal of their time in the meeting house. They were God-fearing people, and they believed and practiced the theory that all men are equal before their God.

And that gave them another idea. They took that concept from the meeting house to the market place and evolved the concept that all men should stand equal before the law.

This was a revolutionary idea. It was an idea that was easy to think about but difficult to put into practice, because in order for all people to stand equal before the law, the rulers as well as the ruled, the agents of Government as well as the people must stand equal before the law. This new concept meant then that the head of the Government as well as the humblest citizen, every policeman, every prosecutor, every judge, alike, must act under and in accordance with the law.

This was a new idea because there had never before existed in the course of history a country where there was not at least one man, and usually a group of men placed above the law.

Many of you come from countries where even petty officials have but to post on some public building a ukase or pronunciamento or manifesto or decree in order to affect the liberties of the citizens without any further ado. That cannot be done in America. All men under this new system must be under the law and act in accordance with the law.

Our forefathers debated this because it was difficult for them to think of how it would be if they did not have a king over them. And Tom Paine, the eloquent protagonist of our revolutionary times, replied to their doubts in these words:

> "Where, say some, is the king of America? I will tell you, friends. He reigns above, and yet, that we may not be defective in earthly honors, let a day be set apart for proclaiming the Charter, the Constitution, and let it be brought forth and placed upon the Divine law, the word of God, that all the world may know that in America the law is king. For as in

other countries, the king is law, in this free country the law is king and there ought to be no other."

And so it was that in America, for the first time in history, an intangible thing—a group of principles embodied in a written document called the Constitution—became enthroned as the supreme authority in the land.

Our forefathers knew what they were doing. They knew this was something revolutionary and they boasted of it. And they made their boast appear forever upon the Great Seal of the United States.

I wonder how many of you have ever noticed it. We are all familiar, of course, with the spread eagle on one side of the Great Seal. You see it above the bench and above the entrance to the courtroom door.

But how many of you have ever made any study of the other side of the Great Seal. Both sides appear on the reverse side of every one-dollar bill. The next time you pick up a one-dollar bill, turn it over and look at the unfinished pyramid, symbolic of the Republic which they started and which they thought would ever be in the building. Above that unfinished pyramid you will find the all-seeing eye of Providence watching over their work, and underneath you will find the Latin phrase "novus ordo seclorum"—a new order of the ages.

You have just been admitted to membership in this "new order of the ages," and I shall not delay your celebration of this happy event other than to suggest to you two thoughts.

Under our system there is no one at the top to tell us what to think. Ideas must come from the people and ideas must compete for acceptance, just like goods and services compete in the market for acceptance under our free enterprise system.

In order for ideas to compete for acceptance they must be freely expressed. The idea which you scoff at today may be the accepted idea of tomorrow, so that idea must have freedom of expression. Even for the ideas you despise, the ideas you loathe to hear, there must be freedom of expression.

The very First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the very first provision of our Bill of Rights, declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

I admonish you never to join any group, even though it may parade as a patriotic organization, never join any movement which would deprive any man of his lawful say. Dispute him, you; vilify him, if you will; but silence him never. Remember always that if you would destroy his liberty, if you would stop the fountain of his liberty to say the thing you hate to hear, you would at the same time be stopping the fountain of your own liberty to criticize what he has to say.

And one thought more, ours is a flexible system of equilibrium, of checks and balances, so-called. For every legal right any American citizen enjoys there is a corresponding and correlative, equal legal duty and responsibility. For every right of citizenship you have and enjoy you must labor under an equal and corresponding legal duty and responsibility of citizenship.

I do not see how this system our forefathers devised can ever fail if Americans will always remember to be as insistent upon the performance of their duties of citizenship as they are upon their rights of citizenship.

Congratulations upon your membership in our "new order of the ages." I hope that your children and those who come after them will find this unfinished pyramid still in the building, and that they may enjoy as wide and full and happy individual freedom as all of us are able to enjoy in America today.

PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

JOHN W. DELEHANT, *Senior Judge, United States District Court,* District of Nebraska

In the performance of the duty, and the enjoyment of the privilege which the statutes of the United States assign to me on this occasion, I shall presume to draw your attention to an easily and frequently neglected truth. And I shall express it in this fashion: the preservation of democratic freedom is most surely promoted by the practice of individual cooperation, restraint, and forebearance.

You are, at the moment, engaged in the final service in your achievement of full citizenship under the laws of the United States. When you go forth from this building you will be American citizens, entitled to every privilege and right enjoyed by us whose status rests upon birth, save only the possibility of election to the presidency of the United States. The most celebrated and valued of the attributes of your citizenship are the rights and immunities which are guaranteed in the federal Constitution and its bill of rights, which serve to exalt the individual citizen, to emphasize his significance, and to translate into concrete reality the shadowy abstractions of liberty and democracy. They are the personal and palpable things which, taken together, mean democracy.

Perhaps the most cherished of our rights of citizenship are those which fall within the broad scope of freedom of opinion and expression. They include liberty of political thought and action, freedom of conscience and worship, and the right of unfettered expression through the written and spoken word. They are, of all our national treasures, the most highly prized; first, because they promote the security of the human spirit, as distinguished from the material aspect of living, and secondly, because they pertain to the actions wherein, historically, men have been most universally and most distressingly restrained. The impact of tyranny, however crude, has always fallen ultimately and radically upon the souls of its victims. Their initial experience of oppression may have had to do with the denial of bread. But physical hunger has never been a tyrant's objective. He has always, and necessarily, sought for dominion over his victims' hearts and souls, and material repression has rarely been more than an instrument, never an end.

Probably in consequence of their very pricelessness, the liberties I mention are also the most easily lost, the most wantonly abused treasures of our American heritage. And they stand in peril of loss in direct proportion as they are abused.

You will miss the whole message of American democracy, if you fail to apprehend the truth that our national way of life is founded on a broad and rational accommodation between unrestrained individual freedom on the one hand, and the necessities of community living on the other. Washington and his collaborators in the moulding of the constitution publicly acknowledged and defended that adjustment, for it is a compromise in social living, not a conscience.

Our vaunted American liberty has never been rightly confused with unlimited personal freedom of action and expression. It has never been synonymous with license. One's careless assertion of the right to do as might please him has always been subject to the qualification that he must not trespass upon the acknowledged liberties of his neighbor or violate the rights, or neglect the claims upon him of the general social body.

And so in this ceremony in which I welcome you into our citizenship and the enjoyment of the freedom which we proclaim and cherish, I am disposed to be practical, and to appeal to you for temperance and discretion in your personal employment of that freedom during the present emergency. It may occur to you that there is a lack of warmth in this restrained welcome to participation in our liberties. That is not true. We ardently cherish these rights and privileges of citizenship which chiefly distinguish our United States from other nations, and we derive joy and profit from sharing them with you who voluntarily acquire American citizenship. But we cannot extend them to others unless we preserve them for ourselves. And we cannot preserve them if we ourselves abuse them.

They are the badge of true democracy, but, perverted, they are, at the same time, its primary source of peril. Absolutism wholly denies them, that thereby it may rule securely and fight effectively. Let us, by our becoming and considered restraint, prove to the world, not least of all to those peoples, whose leaders are now our enemies, that true democracy rationally appraised and cherished, and discreetly enjoyed, can be both effective and triumphant.

OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

GEORGE H. BOLDT, *Judge, United States District Court,* Western District of Washington

It is a great privilege and personal pleasure to be the very first to address each of you as "fellow citizen of the United States of America." From the interest, time and effort you have given to applying and qualifying for such citizenship, and from the showing made of your good character and knowledge of and devotion to the principles of the Constitution, I am sure that you are fully appreciative of the full significance of the status you have now acquired. Simple though the title "citizen" be, there cannot be a one of us holding it who would trade it for any other earthly honor or distinction, however exalted. Neither rank nor power nor wealth would have any real value to us if we had to exchange our citizenship for it.

Citizenship comes as a gift, simply by place of birth, to those born in this country. As individuals we have done nothing whatever to merit or earn it. To you, citizenship has come by choice and, in some instances, through considerable effort; nevertheless it has been freely given. By the simple act of taking the oath, you have become citizens as fully and unreservedly as though you were born to it and descended from preceding generations of citizens. There are no grades or ranks in American citizenship, and the rights, privileges, and immunities attaching thereto can only be taken from you by conviction of serious offenses fully proven according to the rigid requirement of law.

From the fact that we have received our citizenship so freely and easily it is a common, and perhaps natural, error to ignore or forget that the rights and values of our citizenship were established by untold struggle and sacrifice, which places upon each of us the obligation, and gives us the privilege, of making our contribution to the preservation and advancement of that citizenship.

Freedom, with dignity and significance for the individual man, to the greatest extent ever known on this earth, is the basic and essential element of American citizenship. The whole course of history is the story of man's long struggle toward the heights of individual freedom we have reached. It is an effort which has not yet attained its highest fruition and a battle which will never be ended. The freedom we have as citizens of this great nation could be lost quickly by a failure to recognize and properly deal with the evil forces at home and abroad that hate freedom. But freedom also can be lost—and most commonly in history has been lost—by people who fail to fully exercise freedom for themselves and others, and who are not ready to struggle and sacrifice for it.

Few, if any, of you will be called upon to defend our country by force of arms. But every one of you will be required as long as you live and in the routine affairs of every day life to serve and protect the cause of freedom and the principles of our Constitution. Every one of you can deal fairly and honestly with your fellow man—this is of the essence of good citizenship. Every one of you now can vote and you should never let any inconvenience, however great, prevent you from doing so. You can and should take every available opportunity to inform yourself on public affairs in order that your vote may be cast intelligently and conscientiously. You are now eligible for jury service and many other similar duties of citizenship, every one of which must be eagerly accepted and fully performed if you are to do your part in defense of the priceless gift you have received today. If you have freedom of thought, worship and opportunity for yourselves you will not be a good citizen unless you insist that all others share the same privileges without reservation. Coming as you do from many lands, races and religions it should not be difficult for this group of classmates in citizenship to practice the understanding and tolerance that abhors distinctions between men based on color, race, creed or on any basis other than true worth. In Bible times the foolish Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Any form of political or economic security gained by a surrender of even the smallest part of our heritage or essential liberties will speedily prove of less value and less enduring than a mess of pottage.

The obligations of citizenship are serious and heavy and not always easy or convenient to discharge. The standard of performance I have suggested is high but, my fellow citizens, nothing less will do for a goal. Unless we strive toward it and achieve it in a substantial measure, the priceless values that are now our common possession will be lost. I feel confident that not any one of you will want to be even remotely responsible for such a tragedy, and that therefore you will never be found wanting, either in the exercise of your rights or in the discharge of your duties, as citizens of the United States of America.

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

DENNIS F. DONOVAN, *Senior Judge, United States District Court,* Duluth, Minn.

It is a pleasure to have the privilege of extending a hearty welcome to our new citizens. You are now a part of the greatest and most humane Republic known to history. History repeats itself. Let us pay heed to what has been and is.

In the light of world progress during this golden age it is short of marvelous how adaptable our Federal Constitution has proved to every problem arising under it. Considering the gloomy picture confronting the loosely knit Confederation of States, it was our good fortune to have available as members of the Constitutional Convention meeting in Philadelphia, from spring until fall in 1787, a group of brilliant lawyers and statesmen who had "fought the good fight", and who as profound students of political history, were bound and determined not to lose the fruits of victory. They were human, of course, and there was much bickering and strife, as well as learned debate. They were God-fearing men who were taught at home and in school that man was answerable to his Creator for his every thought, word, and deed.

Our Founding Fathers were not too proud to pray. In this they could unite to a man. The result on September 17, 1787, was the crowning legal accomplishment of the ages. As Lord Bryce so well says:

> "The American Constitution is no exception to the rule that everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past; and that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring is it likely to prove. There is little in the Constitution that is absolutely new. There is much that is as old as Magna Charta."

The Constitution, as completed by them, provided for three branches of government, the executive, the legislative and the judicial. Each was a check and balance to the others, and as completed, was described by Gladstone as "the most perfect instrument ever struck off by the hand and mind of man." A division of the powers of Government was not a political device, newly invented by the statesmen who framed the Constitution of the United States. Aristotle, in the fourth book of his Politics, observes that in every polity there are three departments, the suitable form of each of which the wise lawgiver must consider, and according to the variation of which one State shall differ from another. These he describes as, first, the assembly for public affairs; second, the officers of the State, including their powers and mode of appointment; and, third, the judging or judicial department. Under it we govern ourselves as States and Nation. Its articles, Bill of Rights and amendments have proved a tested guaranty of individual security and public prosperity since its adoption in 1789.

As citizens we owe a duty to cast an intelligent vote for the election of those to whom the power of the people will be entrusted. Balloting should not be left to the few. Our part as citizens consists in selecting honest and outstanding officials at the ballot box, in passing judgment upon those few laws submitted to us in referendum where such laws exist; in keeping a watchful eye on proposed legislation that all too often is aimed at our constitutional rights; in bearing our share of the cost of government through taxation; in fairly and honestly criticising or praising the conduct of public affairs; and in holding public trusts whenever the call for service comes. In doing this we help to protect and continue the spirit of our constitutional government. The Constitution is not self-executing; it can be no stronger than the will and virtue of the people. To preserve it is the highest duty of every citizen. On this occasion let us renew our allegiance to it and to Old Glory, its symbol.

How many of our citizens have read the Constitution? It can be read in about a half hour. Like the Bible, it is more respected than read. What does it mean to our citizens? Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. It does not exalt the State. It does not make Government omnipotent. It does not permit unrestrained powers of majorities. It establishes for each individual certain inalienable rights which no Government, State or national, can deprive him of, such as Freedom of speech, of the press, freedom of assembly to correct wrongs, freedom of worship, the right to select our own public servants and determine their policies. It gives the citizen the privilege of being the sovereign in a master state.

And so this is the time for average American citizen, schooled in sound principle and undisturbed by political illusions, to take his stand firmly and bravely upon the proved principles of righteous and scientific government. The basic principles that are ours have stood unconquerable in all the crucial tests of history. It is our obligation to stand erect, and fearlessly with our eyes fixed, not on the gloomy past, but on the dawning of better things. Hope grounded in experience tells us that in the end we have naught to fear, that tempests may come, that losses will be endured, but beyond and hastening towards us is a happier day that surely comes in the fulfillment of sound practices and principles such as are historically and innately the heritage of our citizenship.

PRECEPTS OF CITIZENSHIP

Hon. PRESCOTT BUSH, *Former United States Senator*

The thoughts that stirred within me in coming up from Washington give me a very warm and special feeling of intimacy with you, my new fellow citizens. This ceremony makes us, as of this hour, members of a common society living under the same flag and enjoying its protection and its prestige.

There are no aliens in this room. Vast gulfs of nationality, of geography, of ethnic differences have been absorbed—if not quite lost—absorbed into the powerful strength and great vastness of all we mean when we say the United States of America. Your new loyalties will be strengthened, not weakened, by your old cultural roots.

My feelings were moved as I thought of the deep and abiding contract with this country into which you enter today. I believe I understand what it must mean to each of you individually, because I know what it means to our Nation of which you are now a part. Like any good and sound contract, there are advantages on both sides.

So it was that in coming here I wondered to myself what I would like to hear if I today were to take my oath as a citizen of the United States. For, as we all know, this is a very particular ceremony that can happen only once in a lifetime—and in many tens of millions of lifetimes all over this earth it can never happen at all.

No one knows better than yourselves that you have been selected to join the fellowship of American citizens under a process of choice and elimination more careful than this country has probably ever before employed.

It occurred to me, therefore, that if I were one of you, I would perhaps like to be reminded of my duties and responsibilities which my new citizenship put upon me. And I should like to feel the thrill that must come to one hearing of his rights as an American in this Nation of 163 million free men.

I'd say the first duty of American citizenship is:

Know your country. Know the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which gave it life. To know the United States and its history inspires loyalty as a matter of course. To be loyal to the United States is to want to defend it, and be ready to fight for it.

The second duty of citizenship is to use it. That means to exercise the power and the right that has been given you to participate in the Government of which you are a part; to vote; to make yourself heard; to participate in organization and political party life; in short, to act according to your lights and your talents as a free American.

The third duty of citizenship is—in your case—to adjust to your new country. Be tolerant of your neighbors.

Think in American terms; and be not fooled into assuming that a narrow racial or partisan clannishness ever really works out to the best interests of yourself, your particular group, or your country.

Let yourself melt and dissolve into the American stream. You can never separate your interests as a group from the main body of Americans. And by seeking preferred treatment you will not really benefit yourself in the long run.

And so, vote for a Governor, or a President, or a Congressman, not because he happens to be of your racial or ethnic strain, but because you feel that he will make a good public servant and bring credit to you and your country. That is the American way.

Within these three precepts of citizenship are to be found all other precepts: Knowledge, performance, patriotism.

Ours is a Government of laws, not of men. Under our system, limited powers and definitely limited terms of office are basic. We teach these facts in grammar school. We reteach them and lecture upon them, and we repeat them because they are at the core of our science of Government.

Limited power and tenure is the most important principle in a democracy. It means that we have a Nation of laws and not of men; and that Government here is by the consent of the governed—your consent.

All of us Americans are immigrants, or the descendants of immigrants. And isn't it impressive that a Nation of immigrants, coming in the past from the same parts of the earth from which you come, make this democracy work?

Alfred E. Smith once said:

> "Always have in your minds that the Constitution and the first 10 amendments to it were drafted by refugees and by sons of refugees, by men with bitter memories of European oppression and hardship, by men who brought to this country and handed down their descendants an abiding fear of arbitrary centralized government and autocracy.
>
> "And all the bitterness and all the hatred of the Old World was distilled in our Constitution into the purest democracy that the world has ever known."

What would impress me, standing in your place, is that this Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, is a fabulous and an unexampled success.

If today I were to take my oath as an American citizen, I would be enormously moved at having become part of a country that forged to greatness through government of the people, by the people, for the people.

I would feel a certain awe, a certain humility, a certain pride from the demonstrable fact that in my citizenship I am, before the law, the equal of any elected official.

Should you ever visit Washington in the District of Columbia, I commend to you the words engraved in marble on the facade of the Supreme Court: "Equal justice under law."

Ours is a Government of laws, not of men. It is considerations like these I would reflect upon if today I received my certificate of citizenship.

But I believe more than ever that I would join all Americans in the depth of my gratitude for what has been wrought in the way of human liberty on this soil: The right to vote; to worship God as I please; to speak my mind; the right of habeas corpus; of trial by jury; the right to be secure in my person, in my home, my papers, my effects. The right not to be a witness against myself; my right that no State may abridge my privileges or immunities as a citizen.

All these, and more, are the basic fabric of the law of this land.

They are to be found in the Constitution of the United States. They are the staff of life to the everyday American.

Without these, we cannot live. Without these, we do not wish to live.

With them, we have become the greatest and the most powerful Nation of all time. If our history proves anything, it proves that freedom built on faith in God, and on equal justice under law makes for toughness and endurance in a nation.

You will note that I spoke of freedom built on faith in God. The most important limitation on governmental power in the minds of the founders of our American Republic was their conviction that a divine power had created rights in man which no government could take away.

America's founders wrote in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

If we read the Constitution in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence—as we must read it if we are to understand it—we realize that America is more than a federation of 48 States on the continent of North America. Our American Republic is an idea with a moral basis. It is a system of Government grounded on belief in God.

Communism, ruthless and godless, has spread since World War II until it holds in restive bondage half of the world's people. Irreligious in concept, it has paradoxically created a political faith akin to religious fanaticism which has impelled some of its followers to betray ther own countries. That fanaticism must be met, not by superior force alone, but a fervent belief in the rightness of our cause.

We need to recapture, in these times of cold war more than ever, tne faith of the founders of our Republic. We need to reaffirm in our daily lives their conviction that moral law must be the basis of our Government. We need to rededicate ourselves to the principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY AND FREEDOM

Hon. KENNETH B. KEATING, *Former United States Senator*

This grand occasion has historical significance. We meet here on Law Day 1961 in the same room which the United States Supreme Court regularly met for 75 years. This is also the room in which the Senate met until 1860. It was in this very chamber that Senator Daniel Webster declared in immortal words for "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

The idea of a Law Day is new, but the heritage we commemorate on this day is of ancient origin. Our law has its roots in antiquity—in the Torah of the Jews, the first five books of the Old Testament—in the Republic of Plato, the Greek philosopher of the ages—in the Code of Justinian, the Roman Emperor—in the Sermon on the Mount, Christianity's contribution to all mankind. In more modern periods, we have built the foundation of our legal system on the teachings of a German, Leibnitz; a Frenchman, Montesquieu; an Italian, Beccaria; an Englishman, Locke; and many other citizens of the world.

America is a land of immigrants. Our forefathers came to this land from different cultural backgrounds and from nations all over the world. They bequeathed to us a Constitution which has nurtured our Republic and made it strong. America's progress and growth can be attributed in large measure to the vast reservoir of wisdom in the fundamental law.

Our people must never be complacent or self-satisfied. They must never forget their debt to the Old World. Americans are the beneficiaries of a proud inheritance; we are morally bound to pass this inheritance on to future generations ennobled and enriched. Our immigration laws must not unreasonably bar from our shores those who seek to live and work in freedom. We will not thrive in isolation. I welcome you as brothers. I am proud as an American that you have chosen our land in which to spend your sojourn on earth. I am grateful to you for joining our fellow Americans in a constant quest for a better life.

Your admission to citizenship on Law Day is altogether fitting. This is the day on which all Americans commemorate our love of liberty, justice, and freedom. Law is the safeguard of liberty, the arbiter of justice, and the protector of our freedom.

It assures the solution of disputes on the basis of principle, not whim or person. It protects every citizen from oppression. It gives sanctity to our agreements, and security to our lives. It is mightier than any mortal no matter how high his rank or position. Yet it is the servant, not the master, of the people. It is the tool which the people use to promote their welfare and the common good.

We have at times witnessed the deliberate violation of the law by powerful officers in our Nation. These men shame our country and subvert its most sacred heritage—respect for the law. They are weak men who have done us incalculable harm by succumbing to narrow pressures and prejudices. The people must be firm in confronting such detractors. Obedience to the law is an American commandment.

Law is a process, not a thing. It is constantly growing in depth and scope in the manner of a living organism, not an inanimate object.

It must be stable but it cannot stand still if it is to serve its eternal purpose. For the law must adapt to its environment and adjust to the needs it fulfills, just as a person must, to survive and thrive.

Justice Cardozo put it well when he said: "Law is not a cadaver, but a spirit, not a finality, but a process of becoming, not a clog upon the fullness of life, but an outlet and a means thereto, not a game, but a sacrament."

My friends, you know better than I the blessings of liberty and freedom. Some of you have been the personal victims of oppression and discrimination. You can appreciate without any prodding from me the importance of the heritage and challenge you have today embraced.

I welcome you all as citizens of America. As of today, you are equal citizens entitled to the same rights and privileges and subject to the same obligations as Americans whose fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers were born in this land. I thank you for choosing our country in which to work and live and serve humanity. May God bless you and guide you and let his countenance shine upon you for ever and ever.

THE OPPORTUNITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

Hon. JOHN M. HARLAN, *Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States*

No more appropriate event could have been chosen to mark our part in this third nationwide observance of Law Day than the admission of a new group of American Citizens. Such an occasion symbolizes much for which this country stands.

Fifteen foreign lands are represented in this citizen group: Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Japan, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. My few remarks this morning will be addressed to you new citizens. I shall venture to say something of the promise and of the obligations, which I believe the future holds for the important step you are taking today.

First of all you are most welcome in our midst. This is so because your oath of allegiance evidences your faith in this country's institutions and free society, and also because, like the many who have come before you from foreign lands, we expect you to enrich our outlook. For my part I have never much admired the term "the great American melting pot," for it connotes some things that are quite out of keeping with the American concept of the dignity of the individual. In assuming your place as citizens you will not be asked to relinquish in any degree your own diverse cultural heritages and backgrounds. You will be expected to conform only in one respect, namely, in steadfastness to what we hear so often referred to in these times as "the American way of life." This means a society free of enforced conformity and dedicated to the protection of individual rights, habits, points of view, and tastes—a society which finds its unity in the common purpose to assure to each individual the right to lead his life according to his own lights, subject to his recognizing the same right in others, and to not abusing his own right at the expense of others. This is what the Declaration of Independence meant when it stated that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It was to make that ideal a reality that the Constitution of the United States was ordained. This annual ceremonial exercise is dedicated to the same objective. No one would pretend that we have achieved our goal in all respects. Yet, without undue sentimentality or boastfulness, this much, I believe, can fairly be said: We have gone further than most other nations toward achieving a society in which the individual can proceed as far as his abilities may carry him. In the areas of our national life where it may justly be said that we are still deficient we are honestly facing up to the problems and striving to overcome them.

More concretely from the point of view of those of you who come to us from abroad, you need have no fear lest your foreign heritage may place you under handicap. Indeed, in our dynamic and competitive society the special skills and talents which you bring with you from your homelands will find an eager and ready market, provided you are ambitious, imaginative and do not shun hard work.

If any of you are doubtful about the validity of this prediction, you can easily satisfy yourself of its truth simply by glancing at the impressive past and present rosters of distinguished non-Anglo-Saxon names reflected in various facets of American life—whether it be in business, the professions, the arts, the labor movement, the world of sport, or the field of government, including, I may say with satisfaction, the Supreme Court of the United

States. Indeed the only preferment that will be closed to you is the office of the Presidency of the United States. But I daresay few of you will find that constitutional limitation a serious handicap in working out a useful and satisfying life in your adopted country.

American citizenship in this era also carries with it deep responsibilities for all thoughtful persons, requiring of them an informed interest in public affairs. Too often such responsibilities are associated only with those who happen to be in public office. It is not uncommon to hear said such things as that "the President, the Congress, the Governor, the State legislature, or one or the other of the numerous regulatory agencies will protect us" or that "our basic liberties are guaranteed by the Constitution and, failing all else, are secure in the hands of the courts." To be sure that point of view is, by and large, happily well founded, and it does bespeak the fundamental soundness of our institutions. Yet such an attitude frequently also evidences a complacency towards public affairs which ill fits the kind of society we have, in which the people themselves are the final guardians of freedom. It is sometimes forgotten that the Constitution and Bill of Rights are not a self-executing guaranty of liberty. Their strength as the charter of our liberties depends upon two things—a willingness at all levels of government to follow their principles, and the determination of an enlightened and self-reliant people to preserve the institutions which the Constitution establishes, and to respect their just authority. This is what is meant by the expressions "ordered liberty" and "the rule of law."

So my hope is that you will take an active interest in the affairs of your country. As a beginning I am sure you would find it a repaying experience to sit down and read the the Constitution of the United States. It will not take long for you to read it from cover to cover, for it is a short document; and you need not be a lawyer to grasp at least the extraordinary confidence it breathes in the ability of our then young nation to prosper and grow strong under principles of ordered freedom. At a time when such principles are being challenged as inadequate to meet the aspirations of the modern world, the brilliant fulfillment of the vision of our forefathers surely gives us every reason for facing the future with calm resolution and assurance.

Finally, let me close with an expression of two wishes that I hold for you as you start on this great adventure of American citizenship. The first is that you will be citizens of independent thinking, humility, and tolerance, qualities which are sorely needed in these turbulent times. My second wish is that you will be citizens of great pride in the traditions of this country, and with sure confidence in its ability to preserve its own free way of life and to take its full part in helping other peoples to do the same within the framework of their own national traditions

I am grateful to Chief Judge Pine and the Committee on Arrangements for giving me the opportunity to participate in these ceremonies, and particularly to talk to you new fellow Americans on what I hope will always be for you a memorable day.

Godspeed to all of you.

THE VALUE OF CITIZENSHIP

LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL, *Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia*

Prospective Citizens of the United States:

You are here today not because of compulsion but because of a sincere wish on your part to become a citizen of the greatest country on earth.

The most spectacular movement of humanity in all recorded time is that of millions of men, women, and children from other lands to these United States—the land they made their own. Many famous immigrants have come to these shores to make this their adopted country—Jacob Riis, from Denmark, brother to all men, especially the unfortunate—Michael Anagnos, from Greece, "the man who taught Greeks to learn and adopt everything that is good in American character"—James Hill, from Canada, the great Empire builder—Samuel Gompers, from England, who emphasized the dignity and worth of labor—Alexander Graham Bell, from Scotland, who invented the telephone—Angelo Patri, from Italy, who stressed the importance of the child and was responsible for the beginning of the Parent-Teacher Associations in this country. Year after year countless thousands of common people have played simpler though less spectacular roles, yet they have been just as distinguished in their devotion and consecration as citizens. So each of you can perform a real part in the strengthening of this nation.

From generation to generation the strength of our country is being continually renewed by the free wills of people like you dedicating yourselves to the great enterprises of the human spirit. You bring with you the best of the spirit and tradition of your mother country. You have come here, not only to make a living, but more especially in response to the longing of your hearts for liberty and justice—to become partners with us to help perpetuate the great hope of the human race. You have come here today ready to dedicate your activities, your enthusiasm—yes, if need be—your blood to this beloved land. I feel sure that many of you have prayed to your God to make you humble and worthy enough to receive in this sacred hour with dignity confirmation of your American citizenship.

You will soon take an oath of allegiance. It is a most solemn oath. In that oath you will ask God to witness that you are promising on your honor to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies. In taking that oath you obligate yourself to love this country—to respect its flag.

People all over the world almost overnight have lost the rights and ideals that have taken hundreds of years to win. This past summer I had the opportunity to witness at first hand the plight of people under the iron curtain of the dictator. We were in the western sector of Berlin when 200,000 Germans came over in one day from the eastern zone and went through the food lines. They traveled many miles and stood in the blazing sun for hours to get their little food packages. I am sure their message to us would be, "Do not become careless about your privileges as citizens—you may lose them."

Events are constantly occurring around the world which are a grim reminder to us that we cannot take our freedom for granted. The struggle for freedom never ends. Each generation must rewin its rights. Eternal vigilance will always be the price of liberty. The greatest danger to our freedom is to take democracy for granted. Freedom will survive only if men and women will continue to defend it.

It is not enough that we shall merely enjoy the privileges of a democracy—we must accept the responsibility of citizenship. All those who take this solemn oath of naturalization have the sacred privilege of helping their adopted country to become as great as she is strong and as good as she is great. You, her adopted children, can make her laws respected by keeping them yourselves. You have a part in making her government good by exercising the dignity and the privilege of the ballot box. You can show your gratitude for all that America means to us by the quality of your citizenship.

Governments do not preserve themselves. They can be preserved only by the vigilance of those to whose guardianship they have been committed. Upon you, a citizen of this republic, rests a responsibility which cannot be shirked without danger to your country. The forces of freedom and slavery are arraigned against each other in a death struggle, a conflict of arms and propaganda. Hatred of communism is not enough to make for good citizenship. Good citizenship is vital only when it is positive. Lenin realized that if communism was to become world-wide it would have to be a crusading faith. Democracy will survive only if it becomes a personal possession whose worth and practice is a part of our lives. Edmund Burke has said "All that is necessary to the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." We, therefore, urge you to become active, aggressive and positive citizens.

At the apex of the power of Rome when the eagles of her legions had been carried victoriously over all the then known world, the proudest declaration and safeguard and a passport everywhere was "Civis Romanus Sum," ("I am a Roman citizen"). Because the citizens of Rome worshipped at the shrine of bigness and things rather than at the shrine of the spirit, Rome deteriorated and passed into oblivion. No longer could it be said with pride, "I am a Roman citizen." This declaration has been succeeded by another in which pride is more justifiable, "I am a citizen of the United States." In this hour of history there is no prouder title than "Citizen of the United States." This declaration is powerful today because in this conutry there is stressed the philosophy that every individual is created in the image of God and has dignity and because of the reverence accorded to every human life. It is not powerful because of domination enforced over weaker peoples for this we have not done, nor because of the fear of territorial expansion at our neighbor's expense for we have no such ambition, but it is pride-worthy because it means citizenship in a country which is powerful but not predatory, invincible in conflict yet hating war, and a country to which all people may call for relief when under stress of calamity whether caused by forces of nature or unnatural human forces. We pray that such people may not call in vain.

Here is a place, too, where you have the privilege to cast your vote as your conscience dictates uncoerced by dictator influences—where leaders do not impose their will on you, where your homes cannot be searched without a warrant, where your property is not subject to confiscation, where your family are not put in peril of bodily harm because of your convictions, where you are afforded the opportunity for a richer, fuller life under a government which is subject to, not master of, its citizens. In this type of country you are today securing the valuable possession of citizenship. We welcome you into this company of free men. We feel confident that in appreciation of the sacred privilege which is yours today, you will give of yourself devotedly and sacrificially to keep our country strong and free. May we all join hands in a spirit of consecration and dedication that the inscription on the World's Freedom Bell may become a reality, "That this world under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP

SIDNEY L. CHRISTIE, *United States District Judge for the Northern and Southern Districts of West Virginia*

As the presiding judge of this court, it is my privilege to conduct this final stage of your journey toward citizenship. I welcome the opportunity; it is one of the more pleasant duties of a United States Judge.

You have studied and made preparation for this important day. You have passed the examination and been recommended for admission to citizenship in this great country. You will soon stand before the bar of this court and take upon yourselves a most solemn obligation—an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the United States of America.

In doing this, however, America does not ask that you cease to love and respect the countries from which you have come; but she does ask that you give your undivided allegiance to her in return for her bestowing upon you the mantle of citizenship with all the rights and privileges that go with it.

I shall not here inquire into your motives or reasons for leaving your native lands to seek a new life, new opportunities and new friends in America. I shall assume them to be good.

Nor will I extol to you our virtues, which we think are many, nor dwell at length upon the things that have gone before to make America the great country she is. I will not attempt to catalogue for you the many opportunities, advantages and benefits that this country has to offer you, for to do so would unduly prolong this proceeding.

You, in preparation for this day, have studied our Constitution, our system of government, and have learned the fundamentals under which our system of government operates. I will assume that you subscribe to them and will help to keep them forever safe and secure.

First—*Privilege to Vote:* As you know, with your citizenship goes the privilege to vote.

It is your voice in deciding who will serve you at all levels of government. In many lands, as you know, this right is either partially or wholly denied the average citizen. This is a most valuable right and one which you should cherish and protect. I would caution you not to take it lightly. It lies at the very foundation of our democratic society. To secure it, more than anything else, the war of the American Revolution was fought and won by our forefathers.

You can best use this precious right by aligning yourselves with one or the other of our major political parties. I cannot suggest which—that is for you to decide. Study the traditions, the philosophies and the performance of the two major political parties and then choose the one that best fits your own point of view.

Register to vote and take an active part in the party of your choice. Start at the precinct level; work yourselves up as you would in any line of endeavor. There is nothing wrong about being active in politics; to the contrary, it is good. It is a part of our democratic process. Work from within your party organization to improve your party; not from without. Only through the maintenance of a strong organization of your own party can you choose qualified candidates in the primary to compete with candidates of the opposite party in the general election. The primary, in simple terms, is nothing more than a screening process whereby the party members, through their votes, sift and choose from a larger number of candidates a fewer number as nominees who are found to be best qualified to contest against the nominees of the opposite party in the general election. It is, therefore, axiomatic that for competent and qualified persons to be elected in the general election, whether they be from one party or the other, great care must be given to their selection in the primary.

Thus, it is seen that it is important that we maintain our two-party system in all its strength and vitality so that each will be, in a real sense, a worthy competitor of the other in the business of selecting and electing our public officials.

Second—*Respect for Law:* Laws are rules designed to govern the conduct of human beings. They are imperfect in many instances because they are made by imperfect human beings. But this affords no excuse for disobeying the law. The remedy, instead, is to use your influence to get it changed in an orderly fashion. The recent tendency by some to encourage disobedience of law because it is felt the law is unjust is to be deplored. Such a concept, if carried to its ultimate, could only lead to complete breakdown of law and order; the result—anarchy. No right thinking person would want that to happen. So, it is the duty of all citizens of our country to uphold the law and sincerely try to make it work.

Third—*Be Honest:* Some of you come from lands where money and the luxuries of life are extremely scarce, and seeing many people here with these things in great abundance may lead you to believe that you can secure them quickly by means other than hard work. Such would be an unreal assumption on your part. Your lives here will only be worthwhile if you devote yourselves to honest toil and live clean and respectful lives. Do not fall to the temptation of engaging in gambling, rackets and other types of unlawful enterprises in the hope of becoming rich. This will only lead you to untold trouble and grief. I have, in my lifetime, seen it happen too many times with disastrous results. It is a game in which you cannot possibly win, and I hope that none of you here today will try it.

In conclusion, may I review for you just briefly a few things that may prove helpful in your quest for a useful and happy life in this your adopted country:

1. You should inform yourselves on local and world affairs; keep abreast of the times; know what is going on about you.
2. You should be courteous, unselfish and friendly toward others and practice the policy of a good neighbor.
3. You should be sincere, honest and dependable in all your business dealings, remembering always that a good name, not wealth or power or position, is the real thing that counts.
4. You should take an active part in all the worthwhile activities of your community.
5. You should be fair and just in all your relations with others and respect their right to disagree with you.
6. You should obey the laws of your community and nation, encourage others to do so, and give your support to the efforts of the police and other agencies of law enforcement; understanding that by so doing, you are guaranteeing protection to your person and property from those who would do you harm.
7. You should be industrious, thrifty, and anxious to give an honest day's work for a full day's pay.
8. Finally, you should, by your own conduct, set a good example for others in your community to follow.

I have every confidence that you will live up to these words of friendly advice and to your obligation as worthwhile citizens.

CITIZENSHIP IN A LAWFUL SOCIETY

THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, *Judge, United States District Court, Eastern District of Michigan*

First, let me say to all of you new citizens how pleased I and my colleagues are to greet you and congratulate you on your newly-acquired citizenship.

On these occasions I always like to mention that I, myself, who was privileged for a number of years to serve in the Congress of the United States and now as a member of the federal judiciary, am a naturalized citizen, born abroad as you have been. I do this because I want you to know that I think I can well understand how much this day means to each one of you and also to assure you that when you become a citizen of this country, there are no bounds to what you may achieve in reaching whatever goal you have in life.

We have no first and second class citizens in this country. From the day you leave this Courtroom after taking your oath of citizenship, you are full-fledged citizens with all the rights and all the responsibilities that go with citizenship. But remember, with every right and privilege you acquire there goes a duty and a responsibility that you must be willing to shoulder, the duty of being a good, loyal, law-abiding citizen willing to contribute to the spiritual and the material greatness of this Nation of ours.

Because of this 1st day of May has been, in accordance with the custom established a number of years ago, proclaimed by the President of the United States and by the Governor of this State as "Law Day", the naturalization proceedings scheduled for this week have properly been consolidated with "LAW DAY USA" ceremonies in order to give our new citizens an opportunity to better comprehend the significance of this unique day observed only in the United States.

While in some parts of the world the first day of May is observed as a day of victory of a bloody revolution over established order, it is very significant that we here in the United States observe the same day as a day when we remind ourselves that progress in civil and human rights can be achieved by orderly process, by bloodless revolution or evolution and that we are dedicated to the end and purpose that this be the course America will and must follow.

The slogan selected for this year's Law Day is a timely and a meaningful one: "Only a lawful society can build a better society." I would like to cite to you short excerpts from the President's Law Day proclamation issued for this year's observance because I believe it contains some meaningful thoughts and precepts which it would do well that all of us, judges, lawyers, laymen—old and new citizens of this great country—keep in mind if we wish to preserve the great heritage of freedom, liberty and human dignity that our forefathers and the founders of this land have left for us.

> "On May 1, we will observe Law Day, USA—the day set aside each year by Congress in recognition of the fundamental importance of the rule of law to our Nation.
>
> "The law we recognize and respect is not the mere exercise of power. It is not just a device to enforce the status quo. Law is a process of continuous growth that allows the creation of new rights for all men through a deliberative, democratic process. It is a system that permits existing rights to be protected, injustices to be remedied, and disputes to be resolved, without recourse to self-defeating violence.
>
> "That is the meaning of the theme of Law Day, 1968—'Only a lawful society can build a better society.'
>
> "I commend all those members of the bar, the bench and the law enforcement system who work to improve the performance of this system—to make it more just, more effective, and more responsive to our people's needs.
>
> "America is grateful to them for their efforts to improve and extend legal services to the poor; to streamline the machinery of our courts; and to defend our society against crime and lawlessness.
>
> "I call upon every citizen to assist these efforts in his own community. I deem it the duty of each man and woman to honor the law, and to work within it and through it for civil order and social justice.
>
> ". . . I urge each citizen to join in that observance by making a personal commitment
>
> —to obey the law
> —to respect the rights of others
> —to aid law-enforcement officers
> —to uphold the judgments of the courts."

Rarely, if ever, in our history have these precepts so ably set forth in the President's proclamation been more timely and more appropriate. While many thousands in our Armed Forces, the flower of our youth, are fighting abroad to preserve human freedom, while our courts and our Government at home are making unprecedented progress in their determination to strengthen freedom and justice and to improve the quality of life and opportunity for all citizens—while all this is going on, ironically, it seems to me, there are segments of our Nation which are becoming reckless in the flouting of the very laws which have been created for their protection, of the very agencies which have been most zealous in the advancement of progress in strengthening and improving their human rights.

Many express protest and dissatisfaction over what they term the "foot-dragging" of this process, and yet no one can deny that there is no decade in the history of this or any other nation when progress in the field of human rights has been achieved at such rapid pace as has been accomplished in the United States in the last 10 year.

Protest by demonstration, no matter how unjustified it may seem to some, is always permissible in a democratic nation, provided, of course, that it is expressed peacefully and within the bounds of the laws of the nation. When it is so conducted, it can and often does produce beneficial results. But when it takes the form of open and flagrant violation of the laws of the land, then it cannot be tolerated under our system or under any other form of government now existing on earth. Protest accompanied by violence is senseless and self-destructive.

And what seems to me to be even more dangerous and threatening to our way of life is that this reckless disregard of law has spread from one underprivileged segment of our population to other groups—groups who know or should know better, to students, professors and even members of the clergy, who, on occasions, resort to, condone, or even urge disrespect or disregard for the laws of the land, the very laws under which they practice the freedom of speech and freedom of action which they are privileged to pursue. Flouting of the law of the land on moral or conscientious grounds can be tolerated only in rare exceptional cases. It should be resorted to with the greatest of restraint, bearing always in mind that an abuse of such right can produce catastrophic results. And one who resorts to such moral right should always be prepared to pay the penalties provided by law for such action.

If the practice and teaching that one may be permitted to select, according to his own judgment, the laws which he chooses to obey and those which he chooses to flout—is permitted to continue, it can lead only to anarchy or what may be worse, to a totalitarian autocratic form of government under which all rights, even lawful ones, may be stifled. Certainly those guilty of those practices would not want to see either of these eventualities to happen, and yet that is the unavoidable destination for which we would be heading unless reason and sanity is restored and we resort again to law and order to achieve a continuance of the social progress which we are experiencing. Crime and violence are and always have been enemies of social progress—enemies of freedom and justice.

The democratic system of government under which we live is not a perfect one, nor is it an ideal form of government. No one claims or has ever claimed that it is. But it is one under which progress can be achieved bloodlessly, and I think we can all agree that it is the best form of government yet devised to protect and promote social justice and human dignity, and it should do until a better one comes along.

Let us then on this May Day resolve a rededication to the ideals of equality and justice under law and to the preservation of our democratic form of government under which this can and must be realized. When we tamper with that form of government, we tamper with the only human machinery known to man, under which these rights and privileges can be maintained, cultured, and developed until we reach the state of perfection which is our ultimate goal.

Once again, congratulations to you new citizens of a great, live and free America. We count on each of you to help preserve it and all the human rights it stands for.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE RULE OF LAW

Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES, *United States Representative*

Fellow Americans . . .

I appreciate this opportunity of welcoming new citizens of the United States. This is not the first time I've had occasion to speak to people who have come from other lands to become American citizens. It is a privilege which I seek because I want to share with them the hopes and aspirations which they bring to our country.

I remember the first time I extended this kind of greeting for it was when I had just become a Member of Congress 16 years ago. I stated at that time that I was a new citizen of the United States, too—relatively, having been born in this country only 38 years before that time. I'm not as new today as I was then. I made this point in order to demonstrate the fact that the Constitution of the United States recognizes no difference between native-born Americans and those obtaining their citizenship through naturalization. The point I wanted to make, and which I want to make today, is that the rights and protection of the Constitution belong to every American citizen equally, regardless of his race, his creed or the place where he was born.

You now stand equal before the law with every other American. You are now an integral part of our country and its traditions. All of us in this country are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants.

Our country is great because it is a land which recognizes the right and respects the right of people to differ. In this Nation we are rich not so much for our natural resources, although that we have in abundance, but we are wealthy because we have accumulated the best of the cultures and traditions of all the lands of the earth. We are a people of different economic levels, and of different ideological backgrounds, of different outlooks—all of whom are gathered here and who are fused in freedom by the American tradition and working together.

It is important that you remember the oath that you took to protect, preserve and defend the Constitution of the United States. This oath is not an undertaking only on your part. It establishes a mutual agreement. It creates a mutual responsibility between you and our Nation. Just as you will protect, preserve and defend the Constitution, the Constitution in turn will protect preserve and defend you. It guarantees that you will receive equal justice under law, equal opportunity to exercise the great freedoms available to man: to worship God in your own manner, to think freely, and to express your thoughts freely.

It is characteristic of the type of men who founded our country that they were devoted and imbued with the principles which they pronounced. Thomas Jefferson, who had been a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, a Member of Congress, our Minister to France, Vice President of the the United States, and President of the United States either believed that none of these would allow him claim to immortality or he preferred that they not be used. He gave specific instructions to the executor of his estate that on his tombstone none of these honors were to be mentioned. Instead he directed that there be inscribed on the marble stone which was to stand in place permanently above his remains, the fact that he had been author of the Declaration of Independence, that he had written a definitive tract on religious liberty, and that he had been president of the University of Virginia. He wanted to be known as one who had championed the cause of religious and political freedom and who had fostered education among the young people of his country.

May 1st is the day when the American Nation reaffirms its faith in the rule of law.

I am proud to have voted with the majority in Congress by resolution that May 1 should be set aside as Law Day. We believed that a special time of celebration by the American people should be observed in appreciation of their liberties, a day which would permit reaffirmation of their loyalty to the United States. It is a day for rededicating themselves to the ideals of equality and justice under law in their relations with each other as well as with other nations. It is a day for the cultivation of that respect for law which is so vital to the democratic way of life.

I congratulate the Federal Bar Association and the judges of the United States District Court for combining the ceremony of citizenship with the observance of Law Day.

This date, May 1, was not selected arbitrarily. It gives us the chance to celebrate our own way of life, while others who don't believe in law are celebrating their way. We are testifying to the high honor of citizenship in a society governed by free men and just laws. In Red Square they are testifying to power. That is the difference between Law Day in Chicago and May Day in Moscow.

When we speak of the rule of law, we are not talking of parchments and papers and briefs and codes and ritual alone. We are talking about men and the means they have devised to peacefully settle their disputes, and how they have employed the means they have devised.

Thus, when we take an oath to support the Constitution, we are not pledging ourselves to a mere piece of paper. We are tying ourselves to an article of living faith. The Constitution, above all, is a living document. It is never completed. It is a document for an unfinished Nation. The business of democracy is never fulfilled.

In their wisdom, the founding fathers constructed a Constitution that would live far beyond their time. As one delegate to the Constitutional Convention put it: "It is a great mistake to suppose that the paper we are to propose will govern the United States. It is the men whom it will bring into the government and interest in maintaining it who will govern."

The greatness of this fundamental law of the land comes less from the words it contains than from the millions of men and women who have lived and worked under it to add to its framework of words and ideas the work, the sacrifice, the passionate devotion of many generations of Americans. These Americans came from every area of the world and from every nation and race to live together as partners in a unified Nation.

It is these millions who have given the words of the law flesh and muscle and meaning. In this sense, each of us in this room is as important to the Constitution as were the men who wrote it 180 years ago. We are not only the inheritors of a noble vision, but its carriers. The tradition is ours to maintain as American citizens.

The rights and privileges that we enjoy as American citizens cannot be taken for granted. We should be loyal to the life and welfare of our Nation, and we should participate in its institutions.

I urge you to exercise the rights of your citizenship. I urge you to vote, which is one of the major rights of citizenship and also one of its major duties. It is your means of participating in the principal decisions of our government.

We hear much about rights these days, particularly voting rights. A struggle is necessary in some parts of this land to secure the right to vote for all citizens. The Constitution guarantees the right to vote, but men must give that guarantee muscle. It is tragic that we must experience so much conflict and internal strife to secure a fundamental right, but now we are going to provide the muscle. We are going to pass legislation in this Congress which will insure voting rights for all citizens.

I hope that when you have the opportunity to cast your first ballot you will appreciate how precious is the right to vote.

We are also agonized by our historical inattention to civil rights which has been compromised too long. We are now affirming our belief in equal justice under law by correcting those injustices toward large segments of our population who have suffered discrimination for decades and centuries. A class system is alien to this Nation. We cannot have any second class citizens.

Woodrow Wilson said that "No amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and liberty."

I welcome you, then, not to complacency, but to dedication and to hard work. You now assume the role of nation-builder and will join with others in pursuing the ever unfinished tasks of democracy. You have stepped into the mainstream of the greatest enterprise ever conducted on the face of the earth in the name of freedom, an enterprise devoted to equal justice under law. Your partnership with other Americans is a partnership of promise and fulfillment.

Good luck and may God bless you and our great Nation.

Chapter 6

Suggestions for Programs

IN PREPARATION for a Citizenship Day program, or for setting up a long-time larger program, one of the first requisites for success is a carefully thought-out and well-planned organization of committees.

A skeleton outline of such organization is given in this chapter, with short descriptions of the duties of the several committees. No such outline could possibly cover the needs of every community, and of necessity will have to be expanded or reduced to meet local conditions.

On following pages are given programs which exemplify some ceremonies that have actually been held. Identifying data, such as dates, places, and names of individuals and organizations participating, have been omitted.

The ceremonies go beyond the minimum requirements for conferring citizenship. The various times and places at which they have been held indicate how some of the handicaps to a good ceremony, such as time and space, may be overcome.

The following list of committees and their duties may be used as a basis of action by any community:

Executive Committee:

1. Members:

   Representatives of schools and colleges, city and county governments, press, chamber of commerce, agriculture, labor, civic clubs, veterans, women's clubs, and one or two naturalized citizens and young voters.

2. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

3. Duties:

   Outline policies.
   Plan the number and type of committees.
   Appoint committee members.

Hold meetings of committee chairmen.
Fix responsibility for various phases of the work.
Plan instructional meetings for new voters.
Arrange for group leaders and their training.
Supervise and coordinate the work of all committees.

Ways and Means Committee:

1. Chairman:
   Chosen by the members.
2. Duties:
   Prepare lists of new voters.
   Divide city or county into units.
   Assign group leaders to each unit.
   Effect an organization of each unit of new voters.
   Help obtain meeting places.
   Arrange with Parade Committee for new voters' part in parade.
   Arrange with Program Committee for new voters' part in induction ceremony.
   Provide for absentee new voters.
   Arrange for a convention of new voters to discuss:
      a. Part in parade and induction ceremony.
      b. Permanent organization to take care of their part in program for next year.
   Help new voters to prepare banner, insignia, and similar items.
   Arrange meeting of chairmen of new voter units with Program and Parade Committees to discuss participation in parade and induction ceremony.
   Provide for possible emergencies.

Program Committee:

1. Chairman:
   Chosen by the members.
2. Duties:
   Arrange details of recognition and induction ceremonies.
   Arrange for suitable place for induction ceremony.
   Provide platform if necessary.
   Arrange seating.

Arrange for public address system.

Provide bands, choruses, and other musical groups for the ceremony.

Make arrangements for speakers, guests, press representatives, and photographers.

Arrange for placing of color guards.

Arrange location of flags.

Provide and instruct ushers.

Arrange for return of properties after the ceremonies.

Arrange with Ways and Means Committee for new voters' part in induction ceremony.

Arrange for suitable souvenir or certificate for new voters.

Publicity Committee:

1. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

2. Duties:

   Inform the public of the purpose and value of the whole project.

   Provide newspapers and magazines with the following materials for publication:

   a. Names of committee members.
   b. Names and addresses of youths who have reached voting age, with the request that corrections and additions be turned in to a suitable person.
   c. Names and addresses of naturalized citizens.
   d. List of participating organizations and agencies.
   e. Programs of discussion groups of both classes of new voters.
   f. Articles about forum leaders.
   g. Editorial articles on the program.
   h. Feature articles about citizenship recognition program and its history, local foreign-born citizens who have made good, social agencies working with the foreign-born, prominent native-born citizens, and similar topics.
   i. Pictures and charts to accompany releases.
   j. Copies of speeches.
   k. News of parade and induction ceremony.

Arrange radio and television programs as follows:
  - a. Newscasts on plans.
  - b. Talks on citizenship by the best available speakers.
  - c. Interviews with committee members, new voters, and prominent citizens.
  - d. Forums, especially to appeal to those who cannot attend.

Provide posters (a poster contest among local artists would be valuable in itself), tags, handbills describing the plan, and window displays.

Arrange with theater managers for newsreels or announcements.

Arrange to have ceremonies reported by newspapers, newsreels, radio, and television.

Provide followup copy for the press regarding further activities of new voter units.

Instructional Materials Committee:

1. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

2. Duties:

   Provide instructional materials for the discussion groups.

   Obtain competent authority to cooperate in selecting and assembling these materials.

   Gather information on local units of government for distribution such as:
     - a. Officials—how elected, term of office, duties.
     - b. Maps of county, city, and school districts.
     - c. Charts showing relationships of governmental units.
     - d. Charts showing appointive boards and commissions, their services, method of appointment.

   Prepare manuals for group leaders.

   Arrange to send materials, with guides, for home study to absentee new voters.

Traffic, Safety, and Emergency Committee:

1. Members:

   Representatives of police and fire departments, county sheriff, highway police, Boy Scouts, and veterans.

2. **Chairman:**
   Chosen by the members.
3. **Duties:**
   Be responsible for traffic control, handling of parking, and having parade route closed and supervised.
   See that safety is promoted on the streets and where final ceremonies are held.
   Provide first-aid and ambulance service for emergencies.
   Keep order at place of induction ceremonies.
   Plan and supervise a safe and quick way of getting the crowd into and away from the parade area and place where final ceremonies are held.

Records Committee:

1. Chairman:
   Chosen by the members.
2. Duties:
   Keep a record of the proceedings of all committees.
   Serve as historian of the Executive Committee.
   Keep chronological record of whole program as a guide for the following year, including:
   - a. Committee reports with suggestions for future programs.
   - b. Scrapbook of publicity.
   - c. Copies of instructional materials.
   - d. Copies of radio scripts.
   - e. Copies of addresses given at the induction ceremony.
   - f. List of new voters.
   - g. Copy of program of final ceremony.
   - h. Copy of marching plan of the parade.
   - i. Pictures of various phases of the project.

Directory Committee:

1. Chairman:
   Chosen by the members.
2. Duties:
   Compile a list of all organizations in the area served, including both private and governmental groups.

Acquaint these organizations with the proposed plans.

Arrange for these groups to participate in planning and carrying out the project.

Finance Committee:

1. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

2. Duties:

   Provide funds to cover cost of postage, printing and mimeographing, instructional materials, travel expense, and parade floats.

   Some successful means of obtaining funds include:

   a. Appropriations by county or city council.
   b. Appropriation by board of education.
   c. Cooperative Citizenship-Day Fund project undertaken by various community organizations.
   d. Income from sale of Citizenship-Day buttons.
   e. Income from advertising in souvenir programs.

Decoration Committee:

1. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

2. Duties:

   Arrange for flags to be displayed from municipal buildings, schools, homes, business places.

   Promote special window displays in stores for the final day.

   Arrange for special exhibits in schools and libraries.

   Provide special decorations for homes of new voters.

   Arrange for decorations along line of march of the parade.

   Provide for decorations at place where induction ceremony is held, other than those arranged by Program Committee.

   Cooperate with Parade Committee in decorating floats.

Parade Committee:

1. Chairman:

   Chosen by the members.

2. Duties:

    Obtain permit for parade from civic authorities.

    Plan and supervise the parade.

    Select theme to be presented by floats.

    Approve number and type of floats.

    Arrange parade routes.

    Approve marching units: color bearers, new voters units, bands, military units.

    Provide or approve banners for marching units.

    Keep parade free of clowning and frivolity.

    Make parade both beautiful and instructive.

    Supervise preparation of units in the parade to make sure of good spacing and marching form.

ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
NATURALIZATION PROCEEDINGS

ILLUSTRATION NO. 1

NATURALIZATION PROCEEDING IN A UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

1. Opening of court
2. Invocation . . . . *Minister*
3. Motion by Naturalization Examiner
4. Granting of motion by Judge, who turns proceedings over to Program Chairman
5. Advance of color guard
6. Address . . . . *Officer of civic club*
7. Judge directs clerk to administer oath of allegiance
8. Clerk of Court administers oath to applicants
9. Chairman directs advance of colors and rising of audience for pledge of allegiance
10. Pledge of allegiance to flag . . . . *Entire audience*
11. Remarks to newly naturalized citizens by Judge
12. Chairman directs audience to stand for National Anthem and announces it will be sung by Miss ____________________, prominent soprano, audience requested to join in final verse
13. National Anthem
14. Distribution to new citizens the pamphlet "A Welcome to U.S.A. Citizenship" by Judge or Naturalization Examiner
15. Closing of court

ILLUSTRATION NO. 2

NATURALIZATION PROCEEDING IN A MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

1. Band Concert . . . . *High school band*
2. Opening of court
3. Address . . . . *Presiding Judge*
4. Introduction of speaker . . . . *Presiding Judge*
5. Address . . . *Officer of a National Patriotic Organization*
6. Recognition by court of Naturalization Examiner
7. Presentation of petitioners . . . *Naturalization Examiner*
8. Motion for admission of petitioners
9. Granting of motion by court
10. Administering oath of allegiance . . . *Presiding Judge*
11. Pledge of Allegiance . . . . *Entire audience*
12. Closing of court
13. National Anthem . . . . *High school band*
14. Retirement of colors
15. Distribution to newly naturalized citizens the pamphlet "A Welcome to U.S.A. Citizenship" by Presiding Judge
16. Benediction . . . . *Minister*

ILLUSTRATION No. 3

NATURALIZATION PROCEEDING AND CITIZENSHIP DAY CEREMONY
(EVENING SESSION)

1. Opening of court	
2. Invocation	*Minister*
3. America	*Sung by entire audience*
4. Motion for admission of petitioners	*Naturalization Examiner*
5. Instructions to applicants	*Judge*
6. Administering oath of allegiance	*Clerk of Court*
7. Address	*Prominent citizen*
8. Song	*High school chorus*
9. Pledge to the flag	*Entire audience*
10. Presentation of flags	*Representative of civic club*
11. Presentation of copies of flag code	*Americanization Committee of Patriotic Club.*
12. Distribution to newly naturalized citizens the pamphlet "A Welcome to U.S.A. Citizenship" by Naturalization Examiner	
13. Star-Spangled Banner	*Entire audience*
14. Closing of court	

Illustration No. 4

Naturalization Proceeding and Citizenship Day Ceremony Held in a Park

1. Concert . . . . *U.S. Army Band*
2. Opening of court . . . . *U.S. Marshal*
3. Advancement of the colors . . . *U.S. Army Color Guard*
4. Address . . . . *Judge*
5. Recognition by the court of Naturalization Examiner
6. Motion for admission of petitioners . . . *Naturalization Examiner*
7. Granting of motion . . . . *Judge*
8. Presentation of Petitioners . . *Naturalization Examiner*
9. Administering of oath of allegiance . . . *Clerk of Court*
10. Recognition by the court of Chairman, Citizenship Committee
11. Greetings . . . . *Chairman*
12. Narration by radio commentator
13. Presentation of American Flag . . . . . *Patriotic Club*
14. Acceptance of Flag . . . . *By a New Citizen*
15. Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag . . *Old and New Citizens*
16. Closing of court
17. Invocation for Citizenship Day Ceremony
18. Welcome . . *Vice Chairman, Citizenship Day Committee*
19. Citizenship Day Proclamation . . . . *Read by Chairman*
20. Address
21. Laying of Wreaths by Representatives of the Thirteen Original States in Honor of the Signers of the Constitution
22. Distribution to newly naturalized citizens the pamphlet "A Welcome to U.S.A. Citizenship" by Naturalization Examiner
23. Singing of the National Anthem . . . *Entire audience*
24. Retirement of the Colors . . . . *U.S. Army Color Guard*
25. Benediction

ILLUSTRATION NO. 5

NATURALIZATION PROCEEDING HELD IN A DISTRICT COURT UNDER AUSPICES OF A PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION

1. America . . . . *Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band*
2. Advance of colors by color bearers
3. Examination of applicants . . . *Naturalization Examiner*
4. Administering oath of allegiance . . . . . *District Judge*
5. Presentation of citizenship certificates to new citizens *Clerk of the District Court*
6. Address of welcome . . . . *Minister*
7. God Bless America . . . . *Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band*
8. Star-Spangled Banner . . . *Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band*
9. Colors retired by color bearers

ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
CITIZENSHIP DAY PROGRAMS

ILLUSTRATION NO. 1

CITIZENSHIP DAY PROGRAM HELD IN A PARK

PART I

1. Musical Selections	*High school band*
2. Invocation	*Minister*
3. I Am An American	*Vocal solo*
4. Opening Remarks of Welcome	*Judge*
5. Presentation of Naturalization Class	*District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service*
6. Presentation of Citizenship Certificates to Class	*Judge*

PART II

PAGEANT

"The Re-Declaration of Independence"

1. Scene:
    The Continental Congress of 1776
    The Signing of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America
    Staged and Directed by . . . .
2. Re-Declaration:
    Representative Groups of Patriotic and Service Organizations Rededicate Themselves to the Principles Embodied in the Declaration of Independence
    Narrator . . . .
3. Acceptance of the Re-Declaration on Behalf of the City . . . *Mayor*
4. The Star-Spangled Banner . . . . *Audience*

ILLUSTRATION NO. 2

CITIZENSHIP DAY PROGRAM HELD IN FOOTBALL STADIUM

Processional, Advancement, and Posting of Colors	*By Patriotic Bodies. Accompanied by school band*
The Star-Spangled Banner	*Audience and school band*
Invocation	*Minister (religious denomination)*
The President's Proclamation	*Superior Court Judge*
Patriotic Selection	*School band*
A Prayer for Divine Guidance	*Minister (another religious denomination)*
Address: "Duties and Responsibilities of Citizenship"	*Superior Court Judge*
Selection	*School band*
Presentation of Citizenship Class	*Naturalization Examiner*
Awarding of Certificates of Citizenship	*Superintendent of Schools*
Response	*Newly Naturalized Citizen*
Presentation of American Flags	*Patriotic Organization*
Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag	*Entire audience*
America	*Audience and school band*
Recessional and Retiring of Colors	*Patriotic Bodies*
Benediction	*Minister (another religious denomination)*

Illustration No. 3

Citizenship Day Program Held in a High School

Presentation of Colors	
"America"	*Sung by the audience*
Pledge of Allegiance	*Audience*
Invocation	*Minister*
"American Patrol"	*High school band*
Presentation of High School Citizenship Certificates	*By Chairman, School Medal Award Committee, Patriotic Organization.*
"Looking Forward to International Citizenship"	*Address by a Prominent Citizen*
"Looking Forward to National Citizenship"	*Address by a New Citizen*
"Hymnus"	*Sung by high school chorus*
"Onward Christian Soldiers"	*Sung by high school chorus*
Introduction of Speaker	*Program Chairman*
Address—"Citizenship in the World Today"	*College President*
"Star-Spangled Banner"	*Sung by the audience*
Retirement of Colors	

Illustration No. 4

Citizenship Day Program Held in Outdoor Theater

Prelude—Concert . . . . *Band*
The Massing of Colors
Colors of All Veterans' and Patriotic Organizations
Invocation . . . . *Chaplain*
Welcome from Chairman and Introduction of Master of Ceremonies
Master of Ceremonies
Judge, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
"America, the Beautiful" . . . . *Solo*
Symbolic Awards of Citizenship . . . . *Judge*
Narration by Radio Commentator
Award of Certificates to Students of the Americanization School—Public Schools
Native of France
Native of Austria
Native of Italy
Native of Russia
Native of Germany
Native of Greece
Pledge of Allegiance . . . . *The New Citizen*
"I Am An American" . . . . *Solo*
Greetings . . . . *City Commissioners*
"Testament of Freedom" . . . . *Choir*
Address . . . . *General, U.S. Army*
"One World" . . . . *Choir*
Benediction . . . . *Chaplain*
Retreat Ceremony . . . . *Band*
Retiring of Colors

ILLUSTRATION NO. 5

CITIZENSHIP DAY PROGRAM HELD IN A CIVIC PARK

Master of Ceremonies—Welcome	*Program Chairman*
High School Band and Twirlerettes	
Formation of Colors	*Veterans Post*
National Anthem	*Soloist*
Pledge of Allegiance	*Entire audience*
Invocation	*Priest*
Proclamations	*Mayor*
Presentation of New Citizens and New Voters	*Master of Ceremonies*
Prayer	*Minister*
Patriotic Selections	*High school band*
Twirlerettes	*High school girls*
Address	*New Citizen*
Singing—Dancing	*Nationality Groups*
Principal Speaker	*Lieutenant Governor*
Benediction	*Rabbi*
Retiring of colors	*Veterans Post*
March Music	*High school band*

Illustration No. 6

Citizenship Day Program Held in a Y.W.C.A. Auditorium

Star-Spangled Banner	*Audience*
Invocation	*Priest*
Welcome	*Mayor*
Presentation of Colors	*Girl Scouts*
Pledge to the Flag	*Boy Scouts*
Prayer	*Minister*
Address	*Judge, Juvenile Court*
Greetings	*District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service*
Introduction of Sponsoring Organizations	
America the Beautiful	*Audience*
Retirement of Colors	*Girl and Boy Scouts*
Benediction	*Rabbi*

ILLUSTRATION NO. 7

CITIZENSHIP DAY PROGRAM HELD IN A SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

Presiding	*Program Chairman*
Prelude	*High school honor band*
The National Anthem	*Solo*
Posting of the Colors	*Veterans Post*
Pledge of Allegiance	*Flag Chairman*
Invocation	*Minister*
Violin Solo	
Welcoming Address	*Mayor*
Greetings	*District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service*
Special Feature	*Musical varieties*
Welcome to New Citizens	*Superintendent of School*
Response	*New Citizen*
An Invitation	*President, Citizenship School Association*
Musical Selections	*General Hospital Nurses Glee Club*
God Bless America	*Audience and Nurses Choir*
Retirement of Colors	*Veterans Color Guard*
Reception Honoring New Citizens	*School Gymnasium*

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